

The Tourist Viewer, the Bushmen and the Zulu: Imaging and (re)invention of identities through contemporary visual cultural productions

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Declaration

I, Nhamo Anthony Mhiripiri, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work, has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources I have used have been fully acknowledged by complete references. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Culture, Communication and Media Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

Signature _____ Date: November 22, 2008

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Last but not least, I should thank my wife Joyce for her understanding and support throughout the years.

Dedication

Antoinette naTawanda shingai kutara nzira dzenyu.

Abstract

The thesis is an ethnographic exploration of the visual performances of the (≠Khomani) Bushmen of the Northern Cape and the Zulu from KwaZulu-Natal of South Africa. I investigate how the ≠Khomani and the Zulu involved in the cultural tourism industry are using archetypical tropes of ethnicity, and how they recreate these in the process of formulating context-specific identities in contemporary South Africa. The Bushmen and Zulu iconography that is ubiquitous is read against the modern day quotidian lives of the people concerned. The role and participation of tourists and researchers (anthro-tourists) in the performative culture of cultural tourism is investigated. An opportunity is also taken to critique the artistic creations of Vetkat Kruiper which partly arise because of the need to satisfy a tourism industry interested in Bushman arts and artefacts. Similarly his wife's 'biographical' book *Kalahari Rainsong* (2004) is critiqued interactively and allows me to appreciate my encounters with people and text in the Kalahari. My visits to cultural villages where either the Zulu or the Bushman self-perform permit me to indulge in critical performative writing in which I also investigate the role and place of (anthro)tourists in the reinvention of site-specific identities.

Acronyms

ANC - African National Congress

BEE - Black Economic Empowerment.

CCMS - Culture, Communication and Media Studies

CPA - Communal Property Association

DP - Democratic Party

EU - European Union

IFP - Inkatha Freedom Party

KTP - Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park

KZN - KwaZulu-Natal

MSNBC – Microsoft/National Broadcasting Company

MSU - Midlands State University

NGO - Non Government Organisation

PAC - Pan African Congress

SABC - South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACOD - Southern African Communications for Development

SADF - South African Defence Force

SASI - South African San Institute

SATOUR - South African Tourism

SWAPO - South West Africa People's Organisation

TOURVEST - Tourism Investment Corporation

UN - United Nations

UNISA - University of South Africa

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

WTO - World Trade Organisation

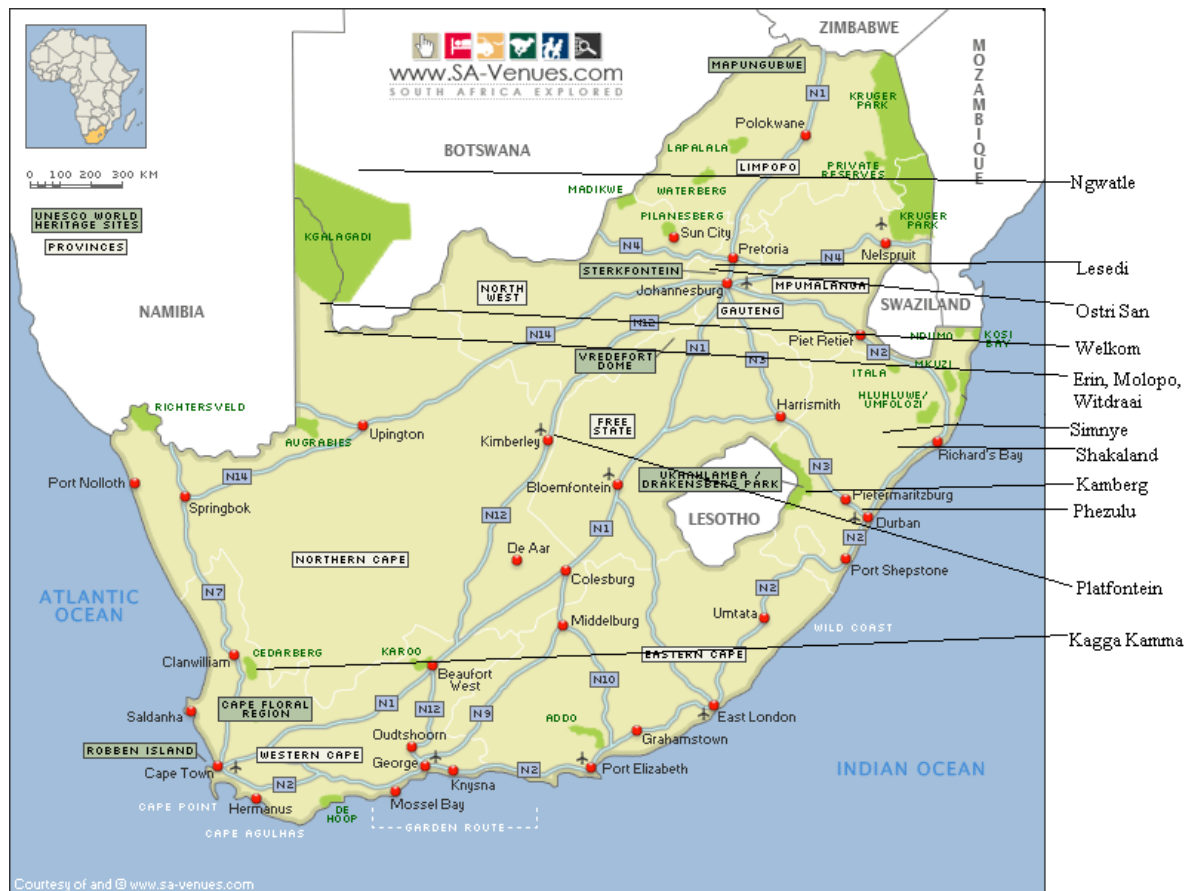
ZANU - Zimbabwe African National Union

ZANU PF - Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZAPU - Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZBC - Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

Cultural Tourism and Sites of Significance Visited



Chapter One

Introduction

Heritage and cultural tourism is flourishing in South Africa, and museums and cultural villages and related performances have been initiated in the country. Crafts production and sales are reportedly booming, and there are plans to even expand the crafts industry in anticipation of good business that will come with the hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup (Rogerson & Gustav 2004). ‘Cultural tourism’ is presently a significant market segment attracting attention from both tourism practitioners and academics (Jansen van Veuren 2004). Academics are concerned about several issues pertaining to cultural tourism. These include policy issues relating to cultural tourism and the politics of tourism, especially the power dynamics between tourism entrepreneurs and local communities involved in the tourism ventures. However, scholars are also preoccupied with identity issues that are integral in cultural tourism ventures, especially when elements of anthropological performances and displays of local indigenous peoples are involved. Since culture is a key tourism resource, “[t]ourism marketing and products are saturated with cultural signifiers” (Jansen van Veuren 2004: 139).

The issue of identities has always fascinated Cultural Studies scholars, especially identities of ‘marginalised’ people, such as the working class, gays and lesbians, subaltern cultures such as Rastafarians, and youths and feminist identities (Hall 1996; Grossberg 1996). The identities of people involved in the performative cultural tourism industry of contemporary South Africa are of major importance to this study. Geographic places and spaces are intricately linked to people’s ascribed and inscribed ethnic identities, and cultural tourism often promotes these assumed interconnections as ready cultural capital (Oates 1997a; 1997b; 2002). Debates on how ethnic groups that are popular in the tourism industry the world over are often presented in essentialistic, simplistic, stereotypical images to international tourists (Edensor 2001; Tomaselli 2005; 2007a; Gordon 2002). In Africa, specific ethnic groups are popular in the tourism industry as ‘self-performers’ and producers of ‘ethnic’ art and crafts.

Amongst these are the !Kung Bushmen¹ of Namibia, the Maasai of Kenya, and the Zulu of South Africa. These people are usually imagined as still living as hunter-gatherers or as subsistence, pastoralist or agriculturalist lifestyles untainted by modernity (Kasfir 2002; Galaty 2002; Sobania 2002; Kratz & Gordon 2002; Gordon 2002). Certain archetypical images and iconography that make them easily identifiable are produced and circulated for public consumption. For example, ‘warrior images’ of the Zulu and Maasai, ‘pastoral images’ of blood-drinking Maasai, while Bushmen hunters and foragers in the desert are ubiquitous images in most tourism brochures and other visuals. The primary means by which commoditization of ethnicity occurs in the postcolonial era is through print-related media – the postcard and the coffee-table book, the bumper-sticker and the T-shirt logo (Kasfir 2002; 379; de la Harpe *et al*, 1998). Crafts and paintings are also inscribed or ascribed ethnic attributes so that their collectors easily identify them.

The political economy of who gazes on whom, and for what purposes and with what implications has long been studied, especially the so-called Western Same’s gaze on the presumed backward Other (Fabian 1983; 1985; 2005; Wilmsen 1989; Taussig 1993; Thomas 1994; Lindfors 1999; Tomaselli 1996; 2001a; 2005; 2007a). The exhibition of Southern African indigenous people, especially the Zulu and the Bushmen, has a very long history, dating back to the eighteenth century when people were taken to Europe for displays and performances (Thomas 1994; Lindfors 1999; Landau & Kaspin 2002). The interest in them was inspired by the belief that Africans constituted the “missing link” in the evolutionary chain between the animal and human worlds (Basckin 1989; Montaigne 1976). Historical misconceptions and misrepresentations of indigenous African peoples shaped European and American perceptions of Africans as backward and savage, hence encounters by representative agents of these presumed disparate worlds were predicated on notions of Sameness in contradistinction to Otherness. The performers were part of the Other world, hence in some tourist-performer encounters it might not be too far-fetched to ascertain racial undertones. However, this thesis acknowledges the sophistication in perceptions and the much more understanding and empathetic worldviews that contemporary people from different racial, ethnic and continental backgrounds are now showing. Tourism theories at least are showing an awareness of the unique experiences of tourists which defy easy

¹ I am aware of the debates and controversies on the use of ‘Bushman’ or ‘San’ (Francis 2007; Tomaselli 2005), but I prefer to use the name Bushman in this thesis because the ≠Khomani Bushmen community I mainly studied preferred the name.

Cartesian categorisation of Same and Other, with newer observations of encounters that perhaps are best explained by postmodern theories embracing the cultural parity of multiculturalism and syncretism (MacCannell 1973; 1989; 2001; Urry 1990; Tomaselli 2001a).

This thesis is not going to enter the debate on alterity and difference as such, but I intend to show how specific people who claim Zulu and Bushmen identities are performing themselves and producing arts and crafts for the cultural tourism industry in South Africa. Some of the art work has since entered into the category of 'serious art' which demands critical aesthetic analysis as would be attested to, especially by the works of the late Vetkat Kruiper of the ≠Khomani Bushman community (Tomaselli 2003a). The performances at self-styled 'cultural villages' claiming to represent 'authentic' 'traditional' Zulu or Bushman life practices are significant in this thesis. I am interested in the dramatic or performative presentations and their implications for ethnic identities within the context of cultural tourism. While popular media present the Bushmen and the Zulu in 'essentialistic' terms, as people physically located in particular space, place and time, they are in fact contemporary people who participate in the cultural tourism industry voluntarily. Cultural tourism performances (which I also refer to as 'ethnographic performances') and artistic productions are usually predicated upon essentialist embodiment and emplacement of ethnic 'self'. This positioning offers good capital for cultural tourism marketing. However, it is now commonplace that ethnic or racial identity is a 'fiction', and in some cases professional performers of particular ethnic attributes at commercial villages do not necessarily belong to the purported showcased group (Kasfir 2002; Carton and Draper 2008; fieldwork observations)². Various forms of 'psychologistic' analysis commit the error of essentialism. Essentialism is a 'naturalistic' form of explanation that seeks to explain motivation, location and context in terms of ethnocentric categories. As such, it is prone to many naturalistic fallacies, the most important of which is arguably that individuals in the same essentialist category are fundamentally the same. Therefore, the needs of one can be readily understood because they are the needs of all (Rojek 2005: 36-37).

² Most of the performers at Lesedi Village in the North West Province of South Africa were recruited from the Eshowe area of KwaZulu-Natal, but they would act out the ethnicities of the different villages represented at Lesedi. There were several villages there including the Zulu, Ndebele, Xhosa and Sotho. In Kenya, it has been noted that the Samburu people have acted Maasai in films and Samburu craft makers make 'Maasai' crafts (Kasfir 2002).

Tourism is perhaps the fastest growing industry in southern Africa, particularly with the relative peace that prevails in the region after apartheid. Some African governments have complied to the perspective that Africa's future lies in the tourism industry, that the World Trade Organisation (WTO) touts as the fastest growing sector of the world, with excursions to 'exotic' destinations like Africa dubbed as "one of the industry's brightest diamonds" (Garland & Gordon 1999; 267). There are fears that Africa might soon lose the market of exporting extractive raw materials as post-industrial conditions rapidly find synthetic substitutes. African countries are finding ecotourism and cultural tourism viable alternatives (Jansen van Veuren 2000). While instances of state-sanctioned cultural commodification occur as part of national tourism development, people do actively participate voluntarily. Cultural tourism is attractive to the poor and historically disadvantaged who often do not possess particular skills for other specialised industries and commercial ventures. For instance, there are low barriers to entry for an ethnographic dancer, a self-performer, or craft makers and artists as no prolonged system of formal education or material capital is needed. These happen to be the general workers in the cultural tourism business. While artistry and skills are essential to perform in the performative cultural tourism industry, participants in the sector often do not require rigorous professional training and education. Guides within cultural villages require a basic fluency especially in English or Afrikaans in order to communicate with the majority of local and world tourists. However, from a business and entrepreneurial perspective there are barriers to entry as capital intensive infrastructure is required, such as accessible roads along strategic routes, and decent comfortable accommodation, amongst other things.

South Africa has committed itself to making tourism its future economic mainstay. South African Tourism (SATOUR), a major marketer of the country's tourism resources, prizes the country's unique selling point as its diversity in people, nature and scenery. According to SATOUR, South Africa's dynamic mix of socio-economic contexts permits tourists diverse experiences whenever they so wish; tourists can download their email while watching a lion in a 'remote' setting. The country's tourism industry is wide and diverse. It includes cultural tourism, conference tourism, political and historical tourism, golf and sport tourism, ecotourism, fossil tourism, etc (Du Toit 2000: 76-77). Some of these types of tourism are dependent on one another and practiced at the same time. For instance, a visitor can attend a conference in Johannesburg and during the break (leisure time), he or she is taken in a group

of conference delegates to visit the Hector Peterson³ memorial in Soweto, one of the centrepieces of struggle/political/historical tourism in South Africa. Other tourists may visit just to experience the Durban beaches, but en route they visit cultural villages where Zulu ‘culture and traditions’ are showcased. Alternatively, some go to the Kalahari for the scenic environment and game viewing and also encounter performative Bushmen.

The South Africa government and the private sector are working together to involve the entire population in tourism (Burger 1999). It is in cultural tourism that the Bushmen and Zulu are visible participants. The major activities are the selling of traditional artefacts and crafts, performances and lifestyles or ethnic ways of life. Writing a “Foreword” for *Creative Crafts South Africa, Volume One*, (undated) former First Lady of South Africa Zanele Mbeki says, arts and crafts within the context of cultural tourism are part of the celebration of South Africans’ cultural renaissance, reflecting their unity in diversity. For her, arts and culture are reflective of the cultural continuity from past to present and future. She writes; “Arts and crafts have always been an integral part of human life, weaving lifestyle with productivity, capturing the events of time and moment, connecting us to the ancient and the indigenous practices that define who we are.” According to her arts and crafts encourage self-discovery and self-assertion of the marginalised rural and urban South African women and men who through sheer resistance have survived the denigration associated with being colonised.

Writing in yet another “Foreword” in the same publication, Z. Pallo Jordan, the Minister of Arts and Culture, concurs with the former First Lady on the significance of crafts to marginalised communities. He notes that crafts have huge potential “for making direct interventions into the second economy in South Africa”. By “second economy” he refers to millions of South Africans engaged in semiformal/informal economic activity of one sort or another, although their contribution to the macro economy is hidden and nearly invisible. Crafts are viewed as an opportunity to reduce the disparities between the very rich and the very poor in the country if they are efficiently produced and marketed. Crafts arguably have a comparatively better appeal to purchasers over similar mass produced goods, due to the investment of individual skill, dedication and the eye of the crafter in the handmade object. Individual crafters have been compelled to carve out a niche market in the areas where the machine does not find it worthwhile to tread, the handmade object is still found more

³ Hector Peterson is the boy who was shot during the Soweto student demonstrations in 1976, and has since become a posthumous icon of the anti-apartheid struggle.

attractive and is highly valued. The Department of Arts and Crafts therefore is pursuing strategies to improve craft makers workmanship and business acumen with a special view to benefit from the 2010 soccer World Cup to be hosted in South Africa (*Creative Craft South Africa Volume One*, (undated). Jordan notes that every visitor to (from) a foreign country wants to take away something to make that visit memorable. During the world soccer showcase souvenirs of every type will be in great demand.

While crafts, artefacts and performances by particular ethnic groups are vigorously promoted there are also disconcerting possibilities of the commodification and over-simplification of the cultures represented. Ethnic identities might be over-commercialised, and what is presented as ‘authentic’ might also be just the expectations and ‘whims’ of the privileged visitors who want to see pre-established ‘types’ for their own gratification (Garland & Gordon 2002; Gordon 2000; 2002; Landau & Kaspin 2002; Skotnes 2002). While the economic imperative of cultural tourism is often extolled, its social, political and cultural (symbolic) roles in contemporary society are often ignored, especially when travel journalism presents “cultural frames” of knowing about “Other” people. These essentialistic “frames” carry discursive implications for the observers and the observed in that certain perceptions preferred by the visitors might be demeaning and disempowering for those being visited, thus ‘politically motivated’ (Fursich & Kavoori 2001: 49-50; Skotnes 2002).

The World Tourism Organisation’s Global Code of Ethics (1999) specifies that genuine development and respect for the cultural integrity of the indigenous peoples is only possible if those people define their own identities instead of having them thrust on them by outsiders. The concern about over-commercialisation and commodification of externally ascribed identities is a sensitive issue given its colonial history. Colonial subjects were given derogatory names and called backward, primitive and savage in order to justify the colonial project. This was a process of racial ‘Othering’, in which the colonisers who incidentally happened to be Caucasians constituted the racial category of “Western Same”, and their antithesis, who in Africa were largely Negroid, were the “Others” (Mudimbe 1987; Fabian 1985; 2005; Thomas 1994; 2001a). Unbridled cultural tourism involving ‘weak’ formerly colonised people has the potential to chip at local culture and essentially re-invent it to fit the exigencies of the tourism industry resulting in an outwardly instigated ‘reconstructed ethnicity’. This is what historians Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) have referred

to as cultural innovation or the “invention of tradition”. Some of that ‘reconstructed ethnicity’ in the tourism industry has resulted in

a powerful and doctrinaire political lobby, an influential commercially-driven point of view, a demeaning service industry, shallow tawdry images of the past, commodification and exploitation, and perhaps worst of all, a downmarket denial of proper access to its legitimate pasts to the society whose very curiosity triggered the opportunity in the first place (de Cuellar *et al* 1995: 185)

The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (1996) states its concern for the respect of local communities’ ethnic identities and cultures when they are involved in cultural tourism. *Voluntarism* is a crucial qualification of any sort of involvement in cultural tourism. This is important because cultural performers and crafts-makers ought to make images and symbols that represent themselves not through coercion or undue manipulation, but through voluntary participation. Voluntarism refers to the imaginary condition of absolute freedom in which choices are made without external constraint. Determinism is the equally imaginary condition of absolute constraint in which behaviour is governed by external force (Rojek 2005: 23-24). There are historic incidences in which ethnographic performers were not only exploited but humiliated and assaulted, existing as mere chattels or slaves. The cases of Sarah Baartman and Franz “Clicko” Taaibosch displayed in Europe and America quickly come to mind (see Lindfors 1999; Gordon 2002).

The White Paper also encourages “responsible tourism” that protects the environment and accrues economic benefit for the concerned communities, nonetheless categorically reiterating “the responsibility to respect, invest in and develop local cultures and protect them from over-commercialization and over-exploitation”. Other than township tours, cultural villages are the main form of cultural tourism in South Africa. Of the tourists who visit South Africa annual not less than 29% of them also visit a cultural village (Jansen van Veuren 2004; Allen & Brennan 2004).

Cultural Villages in South Africa

Cultural villages are purpose built structures designed to attract tourist visitors. They can be structured as museums. Tour guides take visitors through one or more reconstructed traditional homesteads, generally explaining a number of archetypical traditional customs,

which are demonstrated by cultural workers; and the tour is followed by a performance of traditional dance. In most cases, indigenous cultures are depicted as they are imagined to exist in precolonial times. Similarly architectural styles from earlier times are depicted in buildings. Several villages offer a traditional meal or overnight accommodation. Nearly all have a craft or curio shop. Variation occurs in the details, quality and presentation styles at cultural villages; there is no direct exactitude in the cultures which are depicted, and in the size, capital investment and scale of cultural villages. The villages offer employment ranging from two to over 130 employees (Jansen van Veuren 2004: 140). Most of these villages are concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal, the Lowveld, and in and around Gauteng, although cultural performances by the roadside are a recently introduced feature of the Kalahari Desert with the creation of new lodges (Jansen van Veuren 2004; Tomaselli 2007b)⁴.

There is a notable proliferation of cultural tourism ventures involving the Zulu and the Bushmen. Zulu cultural villages have enjoyed a relative level of success as compared to Bushmen cultural tourism initiatives. Variations in business expertise, capital investment, education and training, and accessibility explain the differences (Jansen van Veuren 2000; Tomaselli 2007b). Although white entrepreneurs have been involved with both the Bushmen and the Zulu, the successes of the Zulu as compared to the Bushmen are so obvious that comparative study is inevitable since tourists seem equally fascinated by the two generic ethnic groups. My study broadly situates the ≠Khomani Bushmen and the Zulu who work at commercial cultural villages into the framework, and critically studies their socio-economic realities vis-a-vis their contemporary cultural productions. Their performative cultures intended for public consumption by tourists is under study here. However, efforts are made to offer a glimpse into the ethnographic performers' 'backstage' lives in order to compare and verify the claims they make in the 'front stage'⁵. The notions of "frontstage" and "backstage" are adopted from Irving Goffman and other tourism scholars interested in the symbolic interactions between performers and their audiences in the tourism industry (Rojek 2004; Goffman 1959; 1967; 1971; Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004).

⁴ In the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park the just inaugurated !Xaus Lodge still has to show how it will consistently feature Bushman performative acts, arts and crafts, as a means of implementing pro-poor tourism (see Finlay 2009).

⁵ I need to quickly note here that I had more access to the ethnographic performing Bushmen's 'backstage' as compared to the Zulu ethnographic performers' 'backstage', largely because Zulu cultural villages are very commercialised and workers on site might have other homes elsewhere in South Africa.

Definition of Tourism

It is difficult and perhaps misleading to generalise about tourism and tourists since there is no commonly accepted definition of the process of tourism. The tourist activity is complex and different interests are concerned with different aspects of tourist activity. Nonetheless, according to Peter Burns (1999: 25), while the definition of tourism remains imprecise, there are four generally agreed primary elements of tourism, namely; i) travel demand, ii) tourism intermediaries, iii) destination influences, all of which lead to iv) a range of impacts. The phenomenon of tourism occurs when the following three elements simultaneously occur: temporary leisure + disposable income + travel ethic. It is the sanctioning of travel within a culture that converts the use of time and resources into spatial or geographical social mobility. If travel is not deemed culturally appropriate, then time and resources may be channelled elsewhere (Burns 1999: 26).

There have been many definitions of tourism including standard definitions provided by the WTO and national tourism bodies. Definitions may involve distance, time, overnight stays, geographical perspectives, etc. (Burns 1999: 29). Definitions range from the humanistic ones that place emphasis on the 'traveller's' profound desire to know 'others' with the reciprocal possibility to come to know ourselves (McKean 1977). The emphasis might be on 'experiencing' a place and its inhabitants. The tourism 'product' is not necessarily the tourist destination, "but it is about experience of that place and what happens there: [which is] a series of internal and external interactions (Burns 1999: 31; Ryan 1991).

People travel for different reasons; hence different types of tourists can be identified. Chris Ryan (1991) developed several categories of motivation which he termed the *determinant of travel demand*. The psychological determinants of travel demand that motivate tourists include social interaction, wish fulfilment, shopping, prestige, sexual opportunity, strengthening of family bonds, relaxation, escape, and self-fulfilment (Ryan 1991; Burns 1999: 43). In my travels in KwaZulu-Natal and the Kalahari I have been motivated by a number of the listed demands. Due to the research basis of my tourism the order of importance of the determinant of travel demands featuring in my scheme are social interaction and self-fulfilment. However, incidental or associated outcomes included

‘shopping’ as I bought some artefacts and memorabilia, and I escaped from the routine of classes and corridors at campus. We strengthened our Culture, Communication and Media Studies (CCMS)⁶ ‘family’ relations as researchers and students as we came to know each other closely. This permitted us to assist each other with our work much more readily. Lifetime friendships developed from the encounters with fellow researchers and hosts and, in my case, I still communicate with Kyle Enevoldsen (2003) who is based in his country USA, Belinda Kruiper in the Kalahari, Soka Mtembu who is still at Simunye, and Linje Manyozo (2002) who is in the UK after a short stint at Fort Hare University. Given the nature of our visits sexual opportunity (Ryan 1991) was the least likely and was not remotely considered by anyone of us in our journeys. Perhaps a rather loose use of the concept of “anthro-tourism” best describes the activities in which my research team and I participate, activities that not only include academics, but missionaries, traders, explorers, writers, photographers and other travellers (Tomaselli 2001a: 177-8). The tours are just not for the motivational factors listed by Ryan, but are predicated on critical study and scholarly documentation. Yet the study tour groups have to behave in many respects just as other tourists do, and even pay for their access to resorts, spectacles, people and artefacts. The “ethnographic” or “anthropological” dimensions of the tours, especially to the Zulu cultural villages, might only be thus inclined in that some ethnographic data might be generated in a single visit that might even not exceed a maximum of three days at a time on site. However, such visits to the Zulu cultural villages cannot strictly satisfy the rigorous and long durations of participant-observation (at times as long as seven years) required of “anthropological” or “ethnographic” research as traditionally stipulated in academia (Gray 2003; Cheater 1986).

Some social scientists traditionally exhibit ‘denial’ by refusing to be associated with tourists and tourism, insisting that they are “fieldworkers not to be identified with tourists in any way” (Burns 1999: 73). Tourism is thus viewed as a frivolous area of culture (play) which ought to be avoided by serious scholars. The rigorous study, observation and documentation by the scholar (even when the same scholar might not stay long enough with the subjects of study to satisfy a purely ethnographic methodology) is perhaps what separates the ordinary tourist from the former although both groups might face the same exigencies and travel the same routes and share the same accommodation quarters. At times the ‘tourist’ and scholar

⁶ The acronym CCMS has been retained for over a decade shifting from Centre for Culture and Media Studies, to the current coinage Culture, Communication and Media Studies. It is now a department of the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

are situated in the same spaces at the same time, but the purposes of their visits are different, much as they might both be predicated on self-fulfilment or actualization. The public who are availed the products of the encounters are not limited to family and close acquaintances, but any other person, researcher included, who can access such published material and critique its claims and methodologies. The casual tourist does not have to subject his/her experience to public scrutiny. Perhaps the closest to the scholar or anthro-tourist is the travel journalist who is also in the process of documentation for public consumption and reflection.

Tourism and semiotics

Tourism is an activity fraught with ideological underpinnings. The ideological framing of tourism is done by those who market a particular place, people, product or event, and by the tourists arriving at a site with a particular set of preconceptions which inform what John Urry (1990) famously called “the tourist gaze”. Academics (anthro-tourists) who research and teach tourism related issues, of course reveal their own ideological framing in what they choose to write about and what methods and methodologies they employ (Stiebel 2004: 32). According to Urry (1990) there is the “romantic” gaze and the “collective” gaze of tourists; the former involves the gaze by those educated and sophisticated tourists in possession of the cultural capital to construct meaning from places and events; the latter gaze belongs to the less discerning and less informed who rely on other similar gazers to verify the point of gazing in the first place. The cultural tourist is generally considered to belong to the group of romantic gazers who visit a site after the prior gathering of some knowledge associated with a cultural practice or site, or with an interest in “learning about, experiencing or understanding cultural activities, resources and/or other cultures” (Craik 2001: 114; Stiebel 2004: 32).

Cultural tourism is often critiqued by scholars from the perspectives of ‘authenticity’, ‘commodification’ and the ‘benefits of such tourism’ to the participants, especially with regard to former colonially dispossessed and marginalised peoples as the site of the tourist gaze (Stiebel 2004; Jansen van Veuren 2000). This thesis does not deal exhaustively with all these issues but will refer or allude to them where necessary. The crucial issue is that of identities and authenticity which is inevitable when dealing with ethnic groups who are visited for their performative acts, products and ‘traditions’. From the outset, I need to point out that there is nothing such as ‘reality’ or ‘authenticity’ outside the semiotic experience.

The issue of authenticity is fundamental to the tourist and the academic. Most recent studies are agreed on the constructedness of cultural sites and experiences, and the imagined 'realities' that are enacted there (Edensor 2001; Culler 1998; MacCannell 1989; 1990: 2001). There is a realisation that the sight/site that a tourist envisions is presented and shaped in order to make what is displayed or performed more digestible and understandable. Nonetheless, the cultural tourist wishes to feel that what he or she is watching is – if not the 'real thing' - the original – as close to that as possible, a sign or simulacrum of the 'real thing'. John Urry (1990: 3) elaborates:

the tourist gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs...(The) tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself... All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of signs of Frenchness, of typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs'.

In this sign-reading behaviour all tourists are seen as “agents of semiotics: all over the world they are engaged in reading cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems” (Culler 1998: 155). Jonathan Culler advocates for an in depth application of semiotics to the study of tourism, instead of disdainfully regarding the discipline and tourists in general as not worthy of serious academic study (1998: 167). The phenomenon of tourism, Culler argues, demands not rejection but rather a semiotic analysis as tourists – romantic or collective in their gaze – are semioticians par excellence: they seek various markers for the signs they see and recognise these as such – postcards, posters, photographs, books, mementoes, coffee table magazines. The issue of markers of sites, however, is paradoxical when linked to the question of authenticity: “the authentic site requires markers, but our notion of the authentic is the unmarked” (1998: 164). Ironically, tourists, especially the 'romantic gaze' ones, look for the 'real thing', the authentic experience, but also want some evidence that this is in fact authentic; hence they require markers necessitating some commodification (and thereby packaging and shaping) of the experience, removing it from the truly unspoiled (Culler 1998; Stiebel 2004: 33).

The notions of authenticity and commodification are central, ambiguous and even vexatious to both tourists and academics of cultural tourism. Firstly, most tourists visit a place after gaining sight of a marker of the site/place. This is normally through visual media such as

coffee-table magazines, films and video, books. Even when word of mouth is also influential in motivating someone to visit a place or buy an 'ethnic' commodity, the visual media still have a place in the set of influences (Tomaselli 1996). When ethnographic performers showcase their 'culture', 'traditions' and their cultural products, their audiences often speculate on the authenticity of the experiences, using their initial sources of information (markers) as referential markers. Modern capitalist culture is described as "society of the spectacle" that is explained through "the semiotics of the commodity spectacle" (Lindfors 1999b: 117). Texts infused with signs that carry meaning are cultural products that can be interpreted in various ways.

The reduction of everything to a "simulacrum", the absolute insistence that nothing is original and "real", that there is nothing out there to which words and images refer, and therefore that nothing can be true; everything is all play of illusion and manipulation of image (Baudrillard 1983; Rachjman 2005: 390). While that view might in the abstract sound true, it is a denial of the reality of the image that allows us to make perceptual sense and to create consciousness of any sort. Some forms of 'reality' are derivative, but remain 'real'. A denial of the image as not real is a denial of the materiality of culture and a denial of sensibility and consciousness, which is all intricately predicated on the sign.

Performative pluralistic culture and cultural performances

Modern culture in and outside cultural villages is basically performative. According to Chris Rojek (2004: 9):

(It is a) culture in which there are strong social pressures to make individuals behave in predicable, standardized ways; in which the quality of the performance is the main criterion for establishing validity in the power and authority of relations between actors; and where the patterns of performance are becoming more varied, differentiated and de-differentiated; and crucially, where some people perform merely for the sake of performance. Performative culture literally requires people to be performers. They consciously submerge aspects of their own character in order to present a face to society that will enable them to be accepted for educational training, to participate in paid employment, to have authority over others, to engage in play activity with others, to symbolize acceptance and continuity.

In contemporary literature the term 'performative culture' is often associated with Jean Lyotard's (1984) work, but Goffman's (1959, 1967, 1971) writings on 'facework' remain the seminal and arguably the best on performative pluralistic culture. Goffman presents social order as a continuous and interlinked process of staged performances. Credible performances rely on a series of supporting buttresses that include the following:

1. Back regions: these are the concealed elements in a performance which make the performance credible. They are contrasted with the 'front region' which is the locus of the performance. Back regions remind us that performers require training and support in order to deliver credible performances. For example, in delivering a company plan to shareholders, the managing director relies on knowledge and protocols of behaviour learnt from the family, the education process, the coaching culture of the company and the expectations of the audience. Every successful performance relies on back regions of knowledge, expertise and activity.
2. Props: the visible accompanying details that make a performance credible. The architectural designs and appropriate dress are part of the props.
3. Teams: the network of social actors who act in conjunction with the performer to sustain the performance. The team adds to the credibility of the performance, bringing out certain features through their sustaining activity and glossing over others (Rojek 2004: 9).

Goffman (1959: 245) draws a contrast between the character as performer and the individual as performer. Successful performances require the performer to stay 'in character', at least for the duration of the performance. When out of character, the performer returns to being an individual (Rojek 2004: 10).

When Goffman (1959: 245-6) speculates on characteristics of the individual out of character, issues of worry and anxiety dominate his list. Thus performers have

a capacity to learn, this being exercised in the task of training for a part. He is given to having fantasies and dreams, some that pleasurably unfold a triumphant performance, others full of anxiety and dread that nervously deal with vital discrediting in a public front region. He often manifests a gregarious desire for team-mates and audiences, a tactful considerateness for their concerns; and he has a capacity for deeply felt shame, leading him to minimize the chances he takes of exposure.

In performing any social role, the individual is, at some level, simultaneously conscious of being in and out of character. The degree to which a successful performance is accomplished depends upon fixing this consciousness to the performance so that the hidden, reflexive part of the individual does not intrude (Rojek 2004: 11). Secondly, out-of-character activity is a source of anxiety. When individuals are not performing, they have an unpleasant sense of being cast adrift. If individuals are continuously performing they logically require powers of discretion to determine the suitability of performance styles in different social situations (Rojek 2004: 11).

My study investigates how assertions and readings of ethnicity are made within the context of cultural tourism. Such assertions involve the contemporary performance of self that enacts a restoration of relations to one's past. The question arises immediately of what is the historical relationship of indigenous communities to popular stereotypical images and archetypes circulated through brochures, coffee-table magazines, film, television and tourism?

Mediated ethnic images and cultural tourism

The media and show business have been responsible for the production and reproduction of stereotypical images about the Zulu and Bushman. Contemporary travel journalism and other popular media continue to represent the Bushman and the Zulu as exciting entertainment or educational acts (Skotnes 2002). These representations have implications on how the actors are viewed by tourists and visitors, as well as how the performers see the visitors, or still, how performers see themselves.

Travel journalism, like international news, provides both information and "cultural frames" about knowing "Other" people. Media representations of "Others" are important for the operations of tourism. A tacit link exists between dominant representations of "Others", advertisement and the travel industry (Fursich & Kavoori 2001). The media are a convenient purveyor and promoter of Bushmen and Zulu cultural tourism since they disseminate and popularise certain productions and performances. Tourism has had a magnificent effect on the boosting of arts and craft production amongst the Zulu and the Bushmen. Arts, crafts and artifacts attributable to these people are found proliferating in all South African tourist resorts, and in both exclusive and ordinary local and international markets. It is remarkable

that for a people such as the Bushmen who until recently were presented in popular media as extinct and only associated with prehistoric rock art, there is a proliferation and circulation in the markets of art and crafts emanating from people claiming Bushman descent or associations of various types. Performing for tourists, researchers, filmmakers, and advertisers of commodities, and photographers, and selling artifacts, art and handicrafts are some of the few employment opportunities available to some communities, especially those that were historically marginalised and the levels of literacy are comparably lower (Tomaselli *et al* 2005: 25). It is ironic that both contemporary Zulu and Bushmen artists and performers in some ways exploit the popularity created by older myth and stereotypes associated with their respective groups, which they then reinvent, negotiate and capitalise on in ways beneficial to them.

I intend to investigate how and why the Zulu and Bushmen have remained popular within the tourism industry and within the realm of ethnographic exhibition. The narrative and stylistics associated with these two groups' participation in the cultural tourism industry, and in the popular media in general need to be investigated and analysed. While it is now commonplace to acknowledge that many versions of "Zuluness" and "Bushmanness" exist as attested by varying demographics and personal idiosyncrasies, it also is important to investigate the dominance of somewhat homogenous and singular Bushman or Zulu identities circulated for popular consumption, especially at tourist resorts (Sithole, Laband & Carton 2008; Kruiper & Bregin 2004; Enevoldsen 2003; Finlay 2009).

Markers and Theming as systems of coding and representation

Cultural tourism is a 'leisure' activity. Leisure is not simply a set of behavioural trajectories, identity types, structures of power, forms of practice and a nexus of institutions. It is also a system of representation. In the study of leisure, tourism and consumer culture have been the focus of several attempts to develop a semiotics of free time behaviour (Rojek, 2005:111). Dean MacCannell (1989: 109) adopts Charles Sanders Peirce's approach to semiotics positing that a sign represents something to someone else. MacCannell differentiates between a sight, a marker and a tourist. Mark Gottdiener (1997) has written about the 'theming' of American consumer and leisure cultures. 'Theming', here, refers to the cultural production of commercially defined spaces designed to operate as containers for human interaction. Among the examples examined by Gottdiener are Disneyland, Las Vegas casinos, shopping malls, cafés and airports. Each of these 'containers' directs consumers to operate programmatically

and engage in preferred systems of action that are usually plotted to involve monetary exchange (Rojek 2004: 11). For example, entry into leisure settings, like the MGM Grand on the Las Vegas strip, involves confronting gaming tables and “one-armed bandits” positioned to seduce guests into gambling. The provision of a complimentary or subsidised meal is calculated to retain a visitor in the casino and magnify his or her exposure to opportunities for gambling, drinking cocktails or buying souvenirs. Employing a combination of perspectives drawn from urban studies, semiotics and Marxism, Gottdiener (1997) shows how the theming of activities is progressively colonised by the commercial imperative; hence themed environments in leisure and consumer culture are regulated, commercialised spaces designed to stimulate consumption for the realisation of profits (Rojek 2005: 116). Themed environments display a surprisingly limited range of symbolic motifs because they need to appeal to the largest possible consumer markets. They have replaced the public space of daily life with a place of consumer communion quite often frequented by relatively affluent members of society. However, the consumers of themed spaces are active agents who can negotiate, resist or oppose dominant themed imperatives (Rojek 2005: 116).

It is with the view of performative and themed cultures as elaborated above that I decided to study the self-performances of arguably the two most popular (southern) African ethnic groups associated with cultural tourism and visual culture – the Zulu and the ≠Khomani Bushman. My study is largely focused on those Bushmen and Zulu located in sites of cultural tourism, although efforts are made to compare and contrast them with their compatriots outside the nexus of the cultural tourism industry wherever possible, such as the Maori in New Zealand and the Toba Bataks in Sumatra (Thomas 1994; Causey 2003). The Zulu and the Bushmen are now visual icons due to a long history of ‘self-performances’, although it is equally true that there is no simplistic cultural or even linguistic homogeneity in both ethnic groups (Carton, Laband & Sithole 2008; Le Roux & White, 2004).

The ≠Khomani Bushmen of the Northern Cape

The Nama and Afrikaans-speaking ≠Khomani (meaning ‘large group’), whose original language was N/u, have a long lineage and live in a variety of scattered settlements in the Northern Cape of South Africa (Tomaselli 2005: 3). They also have a long history of visual performances, some of their ancestors having been part of Donald Bain’s exhibition of 1936 (Gordon 2002). The ≠Khomani originally lived, hunted and gathered in the area currently

known as the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP)⁷ but were evicted when the original Kalahari Gemsbok Park was formed in 1931. More evictions followed during apartheid in the early 1970s (Chennells, 2002: 51; McLennan-Dodd 2004: 4). Most of the ≠Khomani settled in Welkom, a dusty town and slum adjacent to the KTP. They were classified as “coloureds” during apartheid. They were often in trouble with Park authorities and accused of no longer practising their ‘traditional’ ways; hence they were deemed no longer suitable to co-exist with the fauna and flora in the park (Gordon 2002). These dispersed people lived as lumpen-proletarians in harsh, poverty-stricken conditions, marginalised economically, politically and socially. Colonialism and apartheid was so acutely devastating to them that they were dislocated as a composite group of people, losing their language and cultural practices in the process (Chennells 2002). “In common with other displaced indigenous peoples, they had to a large degree become assimilated in or dominated by local pastoralist groups, and their ancient cultural practices were sporadically maintained in isolated groups” (Chennells 2002: 51). In 1995, the ≠Khomani lodged a land restitution claim with the aid of human rights lawyer Roger Chennells. The ≠Khomani claim was settled on 21 March 1999, resulting in a handover ceremony attended by the then Deputy President of South Africa Thabo Mbeki; Derek Hanekom, then Minister of Land Affairs; community leaders Dawid Kruiper and Petrus Vaalbooi; hundreds of Bushmen people, and representatives of the world media. Mbeki signed a land transfer agreement giving the ≠Khomani Community Property Association (CPA) title deeds to six Kalahari farms (about 36 000 hectares). An additional 25 000 hectares within the KTP to be managed as a ‘contract park’ was also handed over to the Khomani (McLennan-Dodd 2004: 4-5). Since winning the claim this previously scattered clan of a couple of thousand have chosen different paths. However, in post-apartheid South Africa, despite the complex history of displacements, ≠Khomani community leaders such as Kruiper and Vaalbooi associated themselves and the community to the ≠Khomani ethnonym and identity. The ≠Khomani who won the historic land claim and were restituted land include amongst them speakers of N/u, Khoekhoe and Afrikaans, but they self-identify as Bushmen (San) people of one community (Crawhall, 2001: 6).

The very diversity of the ≠Khomani composition immediately brings attention to the very notion of identity, and whether it is possible to assign a homogenous and unifying name for disparate groups. After the land allocation and resettlement the ensuing power dynamics

⁷ Also known as the Kgalagadi Gemsbok Park.

witnessed the emergency and characterisation of two broad Bushman groups. One has been identified as constituted of the so-called “westerners” (those who participate in farming and largely represented by Vaalbooi), and the other by “traditionalists” who try to live a traditional lifestyle and often perform themselves and sell arts and crafts to tourists (coalescing around the figure of Kruiper). This traditional group has been, on paper at least, the recipient of huge amounts of development aid from both the state and international donors (Tomaselli & Shepperson 2003: 383).

Its members are also involved in a variety of cultural villages and game parks in three provinces and have been intensively written about and filmed (Bester & Buntman 1999; Buntman 1996a; 1996b; Ellis 2000; Isaacson 2001; White 1995; Bregin & Kruiper 2004). The hybridity in composition of the ≠Khomani is important for understanding the contradictions, paradoxes and ambiguities of identities of its members. It is the so-called ‘traditional’ ≠Khomani, well-known in the cultural tourism industry, who participated in ethnographic displays at diverse places such as Kaggga Kamma (for further information see White 1995), Ostri-San in the North West Province (Oets 2003; Bregin & Kruiper 2004) and in the Kalahari desert (Tomaselli 2003b; 2007c; Dyll 2004; McLennan-Dodd 2003: 2007). It is this group whose articulation of ‘Bushmanness’ in early twenty-first century South Africa which is studied here. Given the popular media myths and stereotypes associated with the Bushmen over the centuries and how they have been part of ethnographic displays and world fairs since the eighteenth century, I find it pertinent to also compare them to similar performative exhibitions of the Zulu who are arguably equally fascinating to the popular world media and imagination. The Zulu and the Bushmen are arguably South Africa’s most known ethnic groups.

The Zulu of South Africa

More and more scholarly research and literature has consistently come to the conclusion that “the consolidation of a broad Zulu ethnic consciousness is primarily a phenomenon of the twentieth century, not the nineteenth century” (Wright 2008: 35). The Zulu Kingdom created by Shaka Senzangakhona of the previously small and minor Bantu clan, Zulu, was a conquest state. John Wright argues that this state which emerged between the Mkhuzi and Thukela Rivers, like other new conquest states did not begin as a cohesive and united polity. “It was an amalgamation of discrete, previously independent chiefdoms, each with its own established ruling house, its own identity, its own body of memories and traditions about the

times before the Zulu conquest” (Wright 2008: 36). The class differences in the Kingdom as originally designed meant that elites and the *amabutho* who directly benefited from the system accepted Zulu identity more readily than others, whereas many people were simply resigned to Zulu overlordship. Colonialism, ironically served to unite the different social classes to unite under the Zulu identity and with some sense of glorified nostalgia.

Disgruntled mission-educated blacks, the *amakholwa*, frustrated with the racial barriers placed on their social, political and economic ambitions, sought an alliance with Zulu royalists between 1880 and 1920. In the process they forged a political discourse with elements of African nationalism and ‘Zuluism’, that is “the self-conscious notion that the black people of the Natal-Zululand region were all Zulus by virtue of the fact that their forebears had once been ruled by the Zulu kings” (Wright 2008: 38). With time, especially with regards to younger black migrants from Natal and Zululand, an overarching generic identity consolidated. Urbanisation was a key factor as younger men competed with men from other regions for jobs, accommodation and access to women, and a sense regional solidarity developed, and white settlers and blacks from other areas conferred them the Zulu identity (Wright 2008: 39). The introduction of successive segregationist policies in the twentieth century had the corresponding effect of consolidating a Zulu ethnic identity amongst these diverse people. Zulu military feats, especially when they were pitted against armies consisting of people of Caucasian origins, intrigued the popular Western imagination since the nineteenth century. On 22 January 1879 British invaders suffered a devastating loss at Isandlwana, and this battle alone, as I shall show in the subsequent chapter created a momentous demand for visuals and narratives involving performative Zulu.

Contemporary Zulu people are largely represented in the popular media and tourism brochures as a pastoral-military people. Media consumers might be forgiven to think of them as people representing the past, unchanging and frozen in time (Tomaselli 1996; 2001a; de la Harpe *et al*, 1998). What needs to be understood is that the Zulu are part of the major global historical process and contemporary world citizens dealing with local and global politics and economic concerns. They are part of the market economy, in spite of the representations of particular Zulu identities that are visually and ethnographically represented at commercial cultural villages. It is the articulation of Zulu identities at commercial cultural villages that I am particularly interested, although I will always find the opportunity to juxtapose these to other Zulu experiences outside such representational sites.

Structure of the Study

From this introductory chapter, the subsequent chapters are presented in a sequence that aims to best argue how tourism and arts and crafts are performative constructions with implications for personal identity for those involved, as well as collective ethnic identity. Chapter Two will define important terms and provide the crucial theoretical framework relevant to the study. Emphasis is given to the fact that culture is both performative and constitutive, that it is 'fictive' since it is predicated within a system of signs. The theories used are therefore deconstructive and postmodern in their acknowledgement of the destabilisation of Cartesian notions of 'reality', 'identity' and 'authenticity'. There is explicit acceptance that we are living in a mimetic world of simulation, where the "copy" predominates (Baudrillard 1983; Badiou 2005; Taussig 1993). It is imperative to note that whilst theories are first extrapolated in this chapter, my method of presentation of findings also tends to instantly theorise the same findings. This stylistic approach is intended to ensure that theory and methodology are not just abstractions but tools used in the empirical research and presentation. I aim to show how syncretic theories are to the findings; hence there is no 'neat' separation of one from the other.

Chapter Three presents the methods and methodology used in the enquiry of the cultural productions and performative acts associated with the cultural tourism experience. Here I problematise Cultural Studies as a methodological approach as well as an institutionalised field of enquiry. I locate myself within the broader Cultural Studies traditions, and on a local scale within the CCMS research traditions. While Cultural Studies borrows some aspects and approaches of ethnographic studies and anthropology (especially observation), the methodological limitations of Cultural Studies with regards to ethnography's demands for long-term contact with research communities are apparent in this research, particularly in relation to my contact with the Zulu at commercial cultural villages. The limitations of restricted time with respective communities of study are revealed and explored.

Chapter Four is the first of my presentations of findings. Here I focus on the performative acts at the selected cultural villages I visited, mainly PheZulu, Shakaland, Simunye and Lesedi. The production and reproduction of a Zulu identity in these commercialised contexts is investigated.

Chapter Five makes a presentation of findings associated with Bushmen performative acts at the Ostri-San cultural village and in the Kalahari. My encounter with Silikat van Wyk is prominent in this chapter and I problematise the relationship between the researcher and the researched, front-stage and back-stage, as these seemed poignantly subverted during a ‘classic’ encounter I had with this ≠Khomani performer. Indeed, I reveal too how I was a ‘performer’ in the cultural tourism performative encounter, managing to draw a sizeable number of curious observers (audiences).

Chapter Six focuses on Belinda Kruiper’s (auto)biography *Kalahari RainSong* (2004) and how it assisted me to conceptualise my encounters with the ≠Khomani. This biography is important because it also works as a point of inter-textual reflexivity that I employ to read into photographs of citizens of the Kalahari, as well as cross-reference and substantiate some of my own observations and assumptions drawn from fieldtrips.

Chapter Seven pays tribute to the late Bushman artist Vetkat Kruiper’s paintings, reading them using an amalgamation of aesthetic theoretical analysis and a Jungian (1973; 1977) approach amongst other critical tools. In all the chapters I endeavour to use a reflexive inter-textual and performative writing style in which my presence and personality as a writer and academic is not invisible. I situate Vetkat Kruiper’s work within and in contradistinction to the popular discourses about Bushmen art which create assumptions that existing Bushmen art is only rock art that has to be preserved because its artists are now extinct. Ironically it is the tourism industry in corroboration with the art world who promote coffee table publications that celebrate rock art “frozen in the past”, which ironically has given rise to the new art by contemporary Bushman artists such as Vetkat Kruiper, Silikat van Wyk and the late Qwaa Mangana of Botswana (Guenther 1997; Tomaselli 2003a). Chapter Eight offers a critical evaluation of the entire thesis.

The following chapter, hence, provides the crucial existing literature, the theoretical framework relevant to the study and defines important terms relevant to the study. Postmodern but critical perspectives and theoretical approaches will rethink the histories and performances of visual ethnicities.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter reviews the literature currently available that is closely relevant to the study of Zulu and Bushmen identities within or outside the context of cultural tourism or staged performance per se. Theoretical purviews are established and evaluated vis-a-vis notions of individual and ethnic identities and cultural tourism. The global tourism industry encourages and facilitates the commodification and marketing of cultural productions of selected ethnic communities. Tourists and researchers (anthro-tourists) consume these productions that are packaged and marked with distinct cultural attributes. Visual acts are staged as cultural repertoires imbued with specific archetypical characteristics that are supposedly 'homogenous' to particular ethnic groups or individuals claiming to belong to such groups. The production of staged or artistic cultural productions requires both efficient handling of host/producer and tourist/consumer needs and wants such as comfort and amenities, and a pleasurable 'cultural experience' and remuneration. The hosts are paid for the provision of services, performances and collectibles such as postcards, 'ethnic art' and embroidery, etc.

I will outline existing literature dealing with Zulu and Bushmen identities from the perspective of cultural tourism and media representation. Historical literature on the 'commercial 'ethnographic' exhibitions of these ethnic groups during colonial times are significant in establishing trends. Foregrounding literature on the popular Zulu and Bushmen performances in the past centuries seeks to establish the 18th to 20th century popular images of Zulu and Bushmen on display with the intention to study if there is a marked disjuncture between previous and contemporary perceptions of similar structure and content. After presenting the relevant literature on Zulu and Bushman cultural villages and performances, I will also present relevant theories to be used in this thesis. Important terms and concepts are also defined here.

This study is multidisciplinary in its theoretical and methodological approach, while at the same time endeavouring to make the 'theory' emerge from the substantive descriptions of empirical data (Kachjman 2005; Wallerstein 1999; Badiou 2005). The theories and conceptual tools are derived from cultural studies, tourism studies, visual ethnography and

anthropology, semiotics, aesthetics and psychology. Cultural Studies theories coupled with ethnographic and anthropological theories are largely used to explain notions of individual and collective (group) identities. This is because these disciplines or fields of study put notions of “culture” and “identity” at the centre (Geertz 1973; Gray 2003; Grossberg 1996; Hall 1996; 1997). Semiotics enables me to locate the performative act, ethnographic displays and artistic paintings within symbolic grids that help with an interpretative turn. Tourism studies again locate what the Bushmen and the Zulu cultural producers are doing within global trends. There are particular issues, especially the critical appreciation and interpretation of Vetkat Kruiper’s paintings which are best understood if psychological perspectives are employed, especially a Jungian (1973; 1977) reading of the cultural products. The concepts of myth, mythogenesis and archetypes are best explained using Jungian analysis derived from psychology.

Historicising ethnographic exhibitions of the Zulu and Bushmen

The history of exhibitions of Africans, either as voluntary participants or as ‘ambivalent’ participants as in the case of the Hottentot lady Sarah Baartman (1810-1815), or worse still as coerced subjects, is well chronicled in a book edited by Bernth Lindfors (1999) *Africans on Stage* (see also Crais & Scully 2008). This is a poignant record and descriptive critique of how peoples of Africa have been encountered and systematically named and displayed as the exotic “cultural other” by white Americans and Europeans over recent centuries (see Mhiripiri 2002: 393-399). The book contains a series of articles written by various authors on issues that remain as topical and controversial today as they were during colonial times when particular displays were staged in Africa, Europe and America. The book largely adopts a case study format for the presentation of most of its chapters; specific details are thus provided on the lives of Africans on display as individuals or groups, like Sarah Baartman (1810-1815) and Franz Taaibosch (1908-1940), the African Choir, Six Congo Pygmies in Britain (1905-1907), Zulu and the Bushmen, or white promoters in ethnological show business such as P.T Barnum, Frank Cook, Canadian-born William Hunt who dubbed himself Guillermo Antonio Farini or ‘The Great Farini’, and Donald Bain. *Africans on Stage* illustrates that show business of this kind was quite lucrative. Some frauds and confidence tricksters even masqueraded as African “savages” or wild men coming from the ‘Dark

Continent”, while other African-Americans took the opportunity to reinvent their identities⁸. This was usually done with the complicity of white promoters or patrons – unscrupulous show-biz entrepreneurs, to say the least – in order to satisfy a demand for voyeuristic entertainment that apparently exceeded supply (Mhiripiri 2002: 393; Vinson & Edgar 2008: 241).

All chapters compiled by Lindfors try to answer several significant questions about the individuals and groups exhibited in Europe, America, and Africa itself, who came from Africa or purportedly came from there. Did these African ethnographic performers voluntarily participate in the exhibitions or they were coerced? As colonial subjects, to what extent could the *voluntarism* of those who ‘freely’ participated in the display be qualified? What did the average spectator in Europe and America think of such representatives of the “Dark Continent”? If the display was a performative dramatic one – that is, if the Africans sang, danced, or acted out events – what opinions did observers form of them as performers and also as human beings? How was the spectacle staged, and who organised and managed the show? How ‘authentic’ were these performances given that it is now at least epistemologically agreed that the world and all reality is ‘fictive’ and a simulacrum (Baudrillard 1983; Badiou 2005). What notions of Africa, and Africans were these exhibitions meant to convey? (Lindfors 1999a: vi).

Popular visual cultures have been central to the construction and propagation of imperial and colonial narratives and have helped define the nature of Empire. They have been intrinsically

⁸ Most prominent or notorious of these fraudulent acts was LoBagola, author of the sensationally entitled *An African Savage's own Story and Folk Tales of a Savage*. This ethnographic performer, storyteller, and gay paedophile convict was actually born Joseph Howard Lee, of African American parents, in Baltimore in 1887. He persistently claimed an African origin and lied that he had personally left the wilds of Africa via Scotland only to end up in America. He claimed that even though he had encountered modern ways in his travels, the savage in him had not entirely died out (Lindfors 1999: 228-265). According to writers Robert Vinson and Robert Edgar (2008: 241) Farini's Zulu in particular spawned many imitators. The entertainment magazine *New York Clipper* recorded instances in the 1880s of ‘Zulu’ performers – some of whom were white with painted black faces – who performed at circuses and exhibitions. The figure of Zulu royalty inspired pretenders to claim to be sons of King Cetshwayo or other Zulu chiefs “to seize the limelight or to lighten the wallets and purses of the unsuspecting”. For example, Borneot Moskego feigned to be a Zulu regent, collecting offerings in 1893 at African-American churches in New Haven, Connecticut, for his ‘benighted’ brethren in Africa. He was finally apprehended for taking money under false pretences after a person who spotted him earlier in Milwaukee posing as Tippu Tip, an East African personage, reported him to the police. Yet another conman, Private Thomas Taylor, in 1899, an African-American soldier serving at Fort Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay, fabricated that he was the son of Zulu King ‘Jerger’ from the House of ‘Okukudek’ and that he and his ten sisters had been educated at Cambridge University (Vinson & Edgar 2008: 241).

linked to discourses about the rise and fall of Imperial fortunes in the 19th and early 20th centuries and have been studied as both evidence of imperial attitudes to race and colonial subjects and as propaganda texts which helped spread and cement imperial and colonial ideologies (Landau & Kaspin 2002; Skotnes 2002; Thomas 1994). It is not coincidental that most of these displays proliferated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and that there was a special interest in the African (and specific African 'ethnic' groups) as a spectacle for entertainment and ridicule, as well as an object of "scientific" anthropological study. Valentin Mudimbe (1988: 15-16) notes that the genesis of anthropological science took place within the frame of a mercantile ideology. The industrial revolution started in the eighteenth century, and colonies were then realised for the material benefits they could bring the "mother country"; hence social scientists proposed interpretations of "savages" in order to justify the colonial project, notwithstanding ideas of superiority could possibly have arisen due to the ability of the coloniser to colonise. Therein lays the assumption of the "superiority of the white race", as there was a necessity for European economies and structures to expand to "virgin areas" of the world. Social science was used to explain difference from the inferior "Others", as well as formulate an ideology of racial superiority to justify the primitive capitalist accumulation of resources. Johannes Fabian (1983; 1985; 2005) has noted that the colonial project and the system of Othering not only presented the European "Same" with notions about itself but also about humanity. They were notions of "Others" that served to qualify their own identities at that point in history. Encountered with a deliberately supposed primitive other, it was now rational to wrest and appropriate land, labour and other resources from that denigrated Other who was after all "less than human". Notwithstanding, naked bigotry, force and coercion were used as alternative means of taking charge and bringing the Other into "modern civilization". Mudimbe adroitly captures the intricate relationship between the imperial project and mission and its racist pseudo-scientific explanation of being: "Both imperialism and anthropology took shape allowing the reification of the 'primitive... Evolution, conquest, and difference become signs of a theological, biological, and anthropological destiny, and assign to things and beings both their natural slots and social mission" (1988: 17)⁹. The exhibitions and displays of Africans by Europeans and Americans

⁹ Religion and science were used to justify the colonial project especially, starting with the eighteenth century Enlightenment. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, however, had much more effect on right-wing Western social thinking of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although the theory was intended to explain the origins and variety of species, sociologists and later anthropologists of varying political persuasions used Darwinism as an explanatory model for the origin and disparities in human societal structures. The same social Darwinists misapplied biological concepts to the explanation of human social issues in order to justify racism

served greatly to create, recreate, and reinforce the dominant myths and stereotypes that had direct implication on the colonial project, the mental subjugation of Africans and the expropriation of wealth from Africa (Mhiripiri 2002: 395). However, Fabian makes a radical critique of the colonial ontology as well as the current dismissal of it as if in its racial misconceptions it was inconsequential. Partly quoting Mudimbe, Fabian (2005:144) writes:

[E]thnographers could only study African societies and cultures as they had been (de)formed by centuries of slavery and modern colonisation. To those who would argue that ethnographers were conscious of the historical conditions affecting their research, some critics respond that the African ethnographers considered authentic was an ‘invented’ Africa, not the Africans’ Africa (Mudimbe cf Fabian 2005: 144). This sort of radical critique had to be formulated; its logic was inescapable. Yet it was not radical enough because it tended to dismiss what it should have confronted: for better or worse, our ethnographic, anthropological ways of producing knowledge about Africa were practices that were real even though they may have been guided by ideology and directed at an invented Africa.

In his contribution in *Africans on Stage*, Neil Parsons (1999: 203) notes that there are intimate relations between popular imperialism, popular entertainment, and popular education. He cites John Hobson (1902) who critically observed that the imperialist project saw “the glorification of brute force and an ignorant contempt of foreigners” being spread among “large sections of the middle and labouring classes” by entertainment and recreation businesses. Ethnological show business was arguably “a more potent educator than the church, the school, the political meeting, or even than the press,” especially when exploiting

and anti-Semitism, militarism and imperialism (Basckin 1989: 137-140). Biological notions that represented Africans as the “missing link” in the evolutionary chain between apes and man were circulated in both scholarly sociological and anthropological texts, as well as in the popular media. The supposed “animality” of Africans caused the earliest scientific observations on them to offer analogies between them and simian creatures, to explain their presumed inferiority to Europeans and Asians. This also explains the rather morbid displays of African species in Europe and the United States, the skinning, stuffing and public exhibition of some African bodies alongside stuffed exotic animals. In short the Africans’ very humanity was doubted and questioned (Lindfors 1999: viii). Religion was used to legitimise racism within the context of modernisation by citing the dubious notion of the Great Chain of Being (Mudimbe 1988), which placed one God almighty at the topmost position and man immediately beneath in the order of moral, spiritual, and intellectual importance. Within the category of Man more contestations for positioning are found, with the white man claiming superiority and virtually denying any equality for Africans.

the senses and sensibilities of fun-loving, increasingly urbanised, semiliterate masses (Parsons 1999: 203).

In the same book Veit Erlmann contextualises the ethnological exhibition as a spectacle intended for a new global imagination that is dominated by Western¹⁰ discourses and “power-knowledge”. He delves into the semiotics of meaning-making in which displays and exhibitions are nothing but texts with structured and mostly determined narratives that attempt to tell the intercultural histories of people on both sides of the Atlantic. He writes:

I shall contend that the narratives, ideas, and practices of the global age – a period which in my view begins in the 1890s – are imaginations of a special kind, different from earlier fantasies by virtue of a number of wide-ranging developments in domains such as technology, mass media, and aesthetics... [T]his culture, like all socially constituted realms of practice and meaning taken for worlds, is an imagined totality. Global culture is a fiction that is united not so much by things such as international trade, multilateral agreements, or the institutions of modern society, as by a regime of signs and texts. In other words, it is through new forms of narratives, physical sensations, and bodily practices that new and infinitely more complex power relations manifest themselves (Erlmann 1999: 109).

Apparently, he who initiates and promotes a power knowledge discourse usually does so to image relations that are skewed in favour of his own positioning in the social encounter with Others, especially if the dominant discourse is supported by ideological and military power on the ground. The Third and Fourth World¹¹ peoples have been imaged to be quintessentially the “Other” to the historical “Same” of Europe (Mudimbe 1988). This asymmetrical relationship between Europe and Africa has spanned five centuries and has used religious, evolutionary, or rationalist differences assumed to define Europeans (the Same) in contradistinction to Africans (the Other). The manifestation of the differences has arguably replicated “Europe’s historical consciousness” during the period of encountering

¹⁰ By ‘Western’ I mean the British, European and North American hegemonic ‘alliances’ that were in the forefront in the establishment of racist colonial capitalism. In the global capitalist project of the eighteenth to the twentieth century ‘science’, religion and commerce were used as testimony for the supposedly superiority of the Caucasian races; hence a justification for the colonisation of ‘inferior’ races (Mudimbe 1988; Appiah 1992).

¹¹ By ‘Fourth World’ I refer here to impoverished, marginalised peoples or nations, who at times are called First Peoples (nations) or aboriginal peoples (nations) (see Wikipedia).

Other people, and the former's assumption of a "higher level of development" due to the invention and use of new technologies (Tomaselli 2001 a: 176).

In critiques offered by *Africans on Stage* it is generally observed that the Bushmen (either as groups or individuals), Pygmies and Zulu are largely imaged as pre-modern people living in the past even at the time when they were staging their 'contemporary' acts for the colonial 'Western gaze' (Mhiripiri 2002: 396). Indeed, perceptions about the Other are ambiguous, but they always remain denigratory and demeaning even when well intentioned. They vary from the so-called "noble savage" Romantic myth first stated by Rousseau (1754-1762)¹², a perception which glorifies primitivism as the Western Same find the modernisation project dissatisfactory in many ways, including the cramped living conditions found amongst the working class and urban poor in industrialised countries (see also Montaigne 1976). The romanticisation of the "noble savages" is not therefore unusual when it projects into a wishful protection of "vanishing cultures" and "vanishing peoples". However, the Zulu and Bushman, much as they also have distinct and much more particularised images in the popular imagination, are supposedly ancient relics that remind the Western Same of what they may themselves have been during their own prehistoric times. This image comes out most vividly when the Pygmies, Zulu, and Bushmen are made to wear traditional clothes and dance and sing in their own languages. In contrast to the former imaging, the same people are also occasionally presented as pre-modern people living in the "present", hence appearing more as a historical anomaly that needs to be civilised by all means necessary so that they may become compatible with modernity. As compiled in *Africans on Stage*, therein falls the likes of "The African Choir" (a Zulu ensemble) in England who performed their Christian choral either in "native" dress or in Victorian dress, quite literally illustrating, as the Irish Times reported, "Africa Civilised and Uncivilized" (Erlmann 1999: 126).

The burden of 'civilising' the primitive African may actually mean hunting him down like prey, kidnapping him, and tying him up to a tree and thrashing him every day for six months just as show business manager Hepston did to the coerced Bushmen self-performer Frank "Clicko" Taaibosch (Parsons 1999: 203-214). When these episodes are explained to the 'civilized world' by their perpetrators they are pronounced without any moral qualms, since

¹² See Maurice Cranston (1991).

the subject under discussion is less than human, and the Western Same feels obliged to bring civilisation and salvation to the Other even through breaking their will and humanity.

The issue of voluntary participation is a contentious one especially with regards to the earlier participants some of whom were virtual slaves captured from Africa. Physical and emotional abuse were inevitable aspects of the whole ethnological show business, and controversies erupted once in a while on the morality of displaying people, especially when there is reason to believe the African performers were not making a voluntary appearance, but rather under duress. Some enlightened people and activists would intervene in such cases. There are two cases in point; those concerning the conditions of Sarah “Hottentot Venus” Baartman and “Clicko”. Baartman was the first major ethnological exhibit of the nineteenth century. Despite the inclusion of an occasional song or dance in the “Hottentot Venus” show, her body presentation was the highlight of the “freak show” in its own right. Sarah suffered from steatopygia, a condition which made her have excessively huge buttocks. In the “educational experience” to enlighten members of the audiences on the naturally big Bushman buttocks they were “invited to feel her posterior parts to satisfy themselves that no art is practiced” (Lindfors 1999: 32-33). Sarah eventually suffered the outrage of having her genitalia mutilated for scientific study after her death, and her remains were only returned from France for decent respectful burial in the new millennium (Maseko 1998; 2003; Kerseboom 2007).

In fact, the Bushmen may be arguably the worst victims of colonialism, suffering systematic displacement and extermination along the way: no wonder they are now depicted as a “harmless” vanishing people (Marshall Thomas 1959). It is a rather ambiguous representation of these people since historic documentation from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries paradoxically mythologised the very same people as ferocious and warlike “killers of strangers” (Szalay 1998: 164), feared by European sailors who happened to land on the Southern African coast. The newer image of their being “harmless” coincides with the concept of their “disappearing” or becoming a “dying race” that is “different or removed from the rest of us”, although as a survival strategy some descendents hid their identities and are now resurfacing in the new millennium as the so-called “secret San” (see Prins 2000; Francis 2007). The image of the vanishing Bushmen is propagated more during the eighteenth century and later with the entrenchment of colonialism, mercantile capitalism and ethnological education, and displays obviously exploited it. The Bushmen were viewed as a primitive species, perhaps the last link with apes. Their language and physique were vilified

and despised. They were seen as stunted and awkwardly shaped, so that other African people like the Zulu (whom I deliberately juxtapose with the former for nearly obvious reasons) were considered much more human since they were “well-shaped” and “athletic”.

Bushmen as Objects

Writing in perhaps the first comprehensive coverage of Bushmen visual anthropology in a special issue of the *Visual Anthropology* entitled *Encounters in the Kalahari* writers Elizabeth Garland and Rob Gordon (1999) conceptualise the Bushmen as consumable visual objects. They explain (1999: 271):

The most obvious way to conceptualise the attraction that “bushmen” hold for tourists is to focus on their (ascribed) identity as primitive Others. Characterized in innumerable academic and popular representations as gentle, egalitarian, and perfectly ecologically-adapted, stereotypic “bushmen” provide compelling, almost natural foil for the individuated materialism of the Westerners (largely Dutch, Germans, and white southern Africans) who visit them as tourists...(T)he authentic otherness of people like bushmen does not exist by itself, but is a sign relationship. It must be semiotically marked (and marketed) by means of indicators that it is “off the beaten track”, a “scarce” resource on the brink of disappearing, and the like.

A Bushmen iconography has developed and continues to grow and circulate in the public domain through films, guidebooks, glossy photobooks, postcards, calendars, and even supposedly authoritative accounts written by academics anthropologists (anthro-tourists). These proliferate and provide evidence of what the genuine ‘Bushman’ looks like, quite often continuously presenting a sedentary hunter-gatherer-shamanistic archetypal figure, at the expense of other available life options and opportunities available to the majority if not all contemporary people of Bushmen descent in the entire southern African region. The dominant iconography ironically has been used by both colonial authorities and the postcolonial governments to judge the contemporary existential life practices of Bushmen as “untraditional”, thus giving reason for the dispossession of their land and other resources.

The modern Bushmen has always received doubtful acceptance, at times begrudgingly by national establishments and other citizens. The idea that the ‘real’ Bushmen were extinct, killed off by settlers in colonial days, is so widespread, or that they have been acculturated

and no longer deserve to go by the Bushmen identity or make any claims to cultural livelihood and existence related to Bushmen practices. The poorest and most marginalised claimants to Bushmen identity are quite often rejected and their claims vigorously denied. Former Botswana President Festus Mogae was at pains to explain this in a struggle with the local Bushmen communities, and as usual the poignant issue is a land claim. “We need to be more clear about who these ‘Bushman’ are... The term has become a stereotype for a group of people with a supposed lifestyle of subsistence hunter-gatherers. In truth no such people live in Botswana ... How traditional is it for people to live in the middle of a desert while being dependent on government tanker trucks for something as basic as water?” (see Baxter 2006: 42). During the colonial era in the 1950s and 1960s Bushmen were expelled from the Etosha and Kalahari Gemsbok Game Parks because Park officials believed that they were engaging in “untraditional behaviour” like “begging” (Gordon 2002). What these officials failed to realise was that “begging” was a foraging strategy used not only by those classified as “hunter-gatherers” but also by those who see themselves as “down on their luck”. Those who play up to tourists by dressing in loin-cloths and who use Bushmen archetypical narratives of all sorts to make a living are merely elaborating on this foraging strategy which can be traced to the early twentieth century in Africa (Garland & Gordon 1999: 274).

The Martial Iconography of the Zulu

Zulu military prowess inspired European imagination during the nineteenth century. Although the image of Shaka the Zulu nation builder is often invoked in discussions about Zulu military accomplishments against both African and European foes, it is indeed his successors who achieved the dramatic feats (Hamilton 1998; Player 1998; Wylie 2000). Environmentalist and Zulu culture enthusiast Ian Player sums aptly the way in which the Zulu entered into the world media. He writes about Zulu feats, especially the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879:

The British commanders underestimated the Zulu warriors, and within a few hours some 812 of Britain’s army lay dead, more than at the Battle of Waterloo. Lord Chelmsford, the British commander in chief, had been outwitted by the Zulu generals. It was a battle that reverberated around the Western world, and the word “Zulu” became synonymous with bravery. Benjamin Disraeli, the British prime minister, would later say, “A remarkable people the Zulu. They defeat our generals, convert our bishops, and put an end to a great European dynasty,” referring to Lord Chelmsford; Bishop Colenso, “Sobantu” who befriended the Zulu people;

and Prince Louis Napoleon, the last of the Napoleonic line, killed by the Zulu in 1879” (Player 1998: xi).

The colonial authorities were ‘respectful’ of the Zulu. For instance a small white marble tablet at the Ulundi war memorial says it all: “To the brave Zulu warriors who fell here in defense of the Zulu old order” (Player 1998: xi).

Tropes of tradition

Writing about the Maasai, who incidentally are valorised and ‘admired’ by the Western Same in nearly the same way as the Zulu, John Galaty (2002; 351) writes;

Visual tropes of traditionalism and martial virtue, contemporary images of pastoralists are seemingly dependent on the tourist gaze. In industrially designed encounters, tourists at once absorb, reflect, and mentally recreate the pictorial pastoralists they view while on safari through some of the world’s most spectacular landscapes and its most unusual herds of wild animals. Through tireless repetition, tourist magazines reinforce in their readers’ minds the spatial contiguity of herders and wildlife, subliminally stitching a seam of associations between the two denizens of the savanna.

The “traditional” Zulu are basically a pastoralist and agricultural people. However, their martial competence is legendary because of their historic feats especially against the British at Isandlawana. In addition, they featured valiantly in other battles against the Boers, as well as against other African ethnic groups. Neal Sobania (2002) shows that visual texts accompanied or underlined by written narrative to qualify them, especially stereographs, played a significant role in providing and circulating images of the Zulu to the rest of the world. These images virtually sidelined the agro-pastoral basis of the Zulu traditional economy and over-emphasised the militaristic image. Stereographs, for instance, that were supposed to assist people from other places and climes with visual knowledge of the other tended to reproduce and recirculate particular pictures about wars and disasters. Sobania (2002: 323) writes:

Although the stereotypic presentation suggested a neutral, objective, documentary style, the use of selective images, conventional poses, and indigenous “types” displayed an image that is anything but neutral and objective. And because these images did not appear in a historical or cultural vacuum, what was presented and what was absent provided a clear sense and

message of the African landscape as uncontrolled and natural, and of the people who occupied it as barbarous and savage. Such (visual representations) catered for a popular audience, it is this created world that was made available to millions for visual inspection...[V]iewing the other was made both familiar and exotic at the same time. The images provided fascination and wonder, while simultaneously setting up the dichotomies of light against dark, order against violence, and the European world as the carrier of civilization against the savagery of primitive and wild Africa.... From early on, warriorhood and war were among the dominant images of the Zulu presented in (the) stereoscopic reality.

African Americans and Ethnographic Exhibitions

Exhibitions were meant to serve as an ideological purpose of legitimising white superiority and promoting mercantile capitalism. Nonetheless, the agenda in American World's Fairs that featured Africans had an extra special aspect – the fairs were meant to be a unifying factor in America's national reconciliation and nation-building efforts. Slavery was paradoxically reconstructed as a necessary evil with redemptive ultimate ends instead of the fate of life in the savage wilds of Africa where life was short and brutish. African-Americans in particular were supposed to be grateful that they escaped such a fate through becoming slaves or descendants of slaves. Another contributor to *Africans on Stage*, Robert Rydell hence pronounces this ideological perspective with an example:

In the words of the caption to one illustration of an African woman featured on display on the Chicago fair's Midway Plaisance [right next to the present University of Chicago!], slavery had “not been an unmixed blessing”. With their emphasis on the savagery and backwardness of Africans, African shows reinforced this message... (S)hows representing Africa continued to foster images that lent legitimacy to segregation, but their primary emphasis shifted to provide support for American economic penetration of the African continent. Earlier images of “savagery” did not disappear. Rather, these images were refashioned to support the central tenets of modernization theory, especially the conviction that “development along Western lines was in the best interest of Africans and Americans alike” (see Lindfors 1999: 135-136).

Ethnological shows were some form of “edutainment” or “infortainment” for the majority of the Western nationals across races about the different Others, despite the inherent racism in the ethnographic texts. They have been described as “a more potent educator than the church, the school, the political meeting, or even the press,” for urbanized semiliterate masses (Lindfors 1999: 203). Nevertheless, the press and science literature were essential carriers

and justifiers of the racist, capitalist ideology and paternalistic sentiments dominant during the time. The press popularised show business by providing pre-show publicity, reviews and post-reviews. Newspapers, posters, brochures, billboards, and flyers were skilfully used to ensure the success of ethnological show business. The *London Times* could unabashedly, albeit benignly, speak about the display of “two savage African women” (15 April 1879), or the *Daily Telegraph* could write that an exhibition had “at least the recommendation of being well-timed and throwing some light on the manners and customs of barbarous nations” (15 April 1879). This was expressed rather matter-of-factly, showing that it was a dominant well-entrenched attitude. The Zulu who happened to be a popular exhibition in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century are advertised as follows in the *London Times*: “[The Zulu will illustrate] in an extensive and unexampled manner this wild and interesting tribe of savages in their domestic habits, their nuptial ceremonies, the charm song, finding the witch, hunting tramp, preparation for war and territorial conflicts” (15 April 1879). In America the *New Yorker Clipper* could even afford to publish a satirical article on the Zulu, presenting them as “harmless, as much as in danger from the excesses of western life as from their own savageness”, and the article was accompanied with a cartoon depicting Zulu as “pitch-black, bug-eyed, thick-lipped, and childlike” (23 August 1879).

Performances by Africans could actually invite reviews or comments from some of the best minds of the past centuries. Ironically, these literati also divulged the same myopic racial arrogance as they were men and women of their times. Novelist Charles Dickens, for instance, viciously attacked all kinds of “savages” and wished that the process of modernization would delete such people from the face of the earth. What he insisted was “savagery” was in essence an amalgamation of the popular discourses circulated in the media and so-called science and religion qualifying the Others’ inferiority. He had no detailed or intimate knowledge of Other peoples’ beliefs and cosmology. He therefore engaged in an onslaught against the Romantic myth of the “noble savage” but equally dismissed tolerance of anything Other than the Western Same’s standards of ‘civilization’ (Mhiripiri 2002: 398). Dickens wrote in *Household Worlds*, after watching a Zulu performance:

To come to the point at once, I beg to say that I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage. I consider him a prodigious nuisance, and an enormous superstition. His calling rum fire-water, and me a pale face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I don’t care what he calls me. I call him savage, and I call a savage something highly desirable to be civilized off the face of

the earth. I think a mere gent (which I take to be the lowest form of civilization) better than a howling, whistling, clucking, stamping, jumping, tearing, savage...(see Strother 1999).

Dickens was not alone in stating his revulsion against ethnographic Africans. Gustave Flaubert, the prominent French author of *Madame Bovary*, perceived the African as a “type of wild beast... making inarticulate cries,” and he confesses experiencing the thrill of seeming “to see the first men on the earth [who] have just been born and creep and crawl still with the toads and crocodiles”. Paradoxically, he is attracted to the “savage” and muses, admittedly sympathetically, nonetheless grossly patronising: “What do I have in me, therefore, that makes me cherish at first sight all that is cretinous, crazy, idiotic, savage? Do these poor characters there understand that I am part of their world? ... Do they feel some kind of bond with me?” (Strother 1999: 36). Whilst Strother concludes that Flaubert experiences a deep sense of distance between himself and those on display, and hence a denial of common humanity between himself and the Other, I find Flaubert’s musings a vital radical step in understanding himself through visualising what he thinks is the Other. Perhaps he would eventually understand that the spectacles he sees are very much his own constructions, the drumming up of the whims of the dominant racial Same, which only serve to affirm what he considers to be the real world; a mere representation, albeit dominant and domineering over others, of his ego as a white man (Mhiripiri 2002: 398). It is ultimately a representation of his “world consciousness” at that stage and time, a world view that is seemingly under control, yet problematic when critically assessed, since what seems can be misleading, as is shown through the rebellions over contracts by black performers, or their resistances against having their identities pigeon-holed, or the mere subversion of performative content, actions well chronicled in *Africans on Stage*. Elsewhere Jean Paul Sartre (1991) captures the essence of this contradiction when he conceptualized the world and representations as creations: “...[I]n the creative act I look into the very heart of what I create – for what I create is me – and yet what I create opposes itself to me by closing in on itself in an affirmation of objectivity” (Sartre 1991: 232).

Much as Africans performances were historically denigrated and condescended, it is arguable whether the same attitudes prevail when contemporary Caucasian people or ‘Western’ people viewed performative spectacles. Racist attitudes and actions are generally criticised and political correctness in all aspects of life is a prerequisite of any claims to contemporary enlightenment and refinement (Cameron 1995). Attitudes and actions are now ‘regulated’ by

the loftiest values that have universal acceptance and respect., that is why philosophical scholars such as Jürgen Habermas and Paulo Freire insist on the connection between structures of moral judgement to structures of social interaction (Habermas 2001; Freire 1996). The interactions between ‘actors’ and ‘spectators’ ought to be predicated on mutual respect of ‘differences’ to further understanding; hence the performative acts are viewed in this thesis as basically ‘dialogical’ and ‘humanizing’, facilitating both entertainment, play, education and cultural exchange involving equal ‘partners’. I prefer to be optimistic about the contemporary ‘Western’ viewer’s motives for ‘gazing’ on the ‘non-western’ Other, although I might remain suspicious of the intentions of ‘Other’ people given that I am coming from a racial category that has been historically denigrated and marginalized. Worse still, I cannot exactly know the secret thoughts and feelings of the ‘Western’ Other in a world typified by propriety and “verbal hygiene” especially in leisure ‘public spaces’ of interaction (see for example Garth Allen and Frank Brennan’s ‘good tourist’ (2004); Cameron 1995).

The politics of forgetting

Critical works by anthropologist Fabian show that the colonial act of denying the colonised’s humanity inversely disclosed the coloniser’s own personality. Just as Sartre see himself in his own creations, so does Fabian finds the Other a psychological creation of the Western Same’s own consciousness, thus an integral part of his identity (Fabian 1983, 1985). In a more recent analysis Fabian notes that recognition and remembrance of the Other, just as forgetting, is a performative act. He observes that European travellers to Africa often recognise African scenery and people in reference to what they already know from their own home countries. However, denial of Africans and their terrain as ‘familiar’ phenomena is a state of mind with discursive implications. He writes:

[W]e should remind ourselves that remembering Africa and forgetting Africa – in the sense of recognising and denying its presence – have always gone together, often in such a way that the latter has been a condition of the former. Concern with forgetting Africa may overlook that the situation we have now has a long history, even if we let it begin only in the second half of the nineteenth century – the time of the colonial ‘scramble for Africa’ that, if anything, ought to have been a time of remembering Africa (in the sense of recognising its presence). Governments were in search of empire, missions got organised to save souls. Capitalists were on the look-out for profitable investments in the exploitation of natural and human resources, and learned societies had resolved to fill the gaps on the maps of

geography, ethnography and natural science. A broad public was eager to read about the heroic accomplishments of all of the above. Africa was 'on our minds'. But we know (or ought to know) better. *Political, economic and scientific appropriation of Africa was based on denial of recognition and therefore on suppression of memory* (Fabian 2005: 140).

Fabian's thesis is that classic ethnography thrived on forgetting Africa - refusing to recognise 'traditional' Africa's contemporaneity. Again it is only proper to quote Fabian (2005: 145) extensively:

Enacting tropes that go back at least to the Enlightenment origins of anthropology, ethnographers pursued their work as the study of a vanishing Africa, of traditions crumbling under the impact of colonisation. Africa's modernity, the move of masses of peasants into an urban-industrial world of wage labour, commerce, employment in the military, in administration, and education and the concomitant adoption of 'Western' lifestyles (including the use of European languages) were more often than not deplored, sometimes ridiculed, as 'deracination' or as pathetic mimesis. It was not until the intra-disciplinary critique of anthropology's culturalism (and functionalism) had prepared us to 'remember the present' that we began to perceive and appreciate African contemporary culture in its many creative expressions (in music, theatre and painting, but also in urban storytelling, grassroots literacy, and historiography). Forgetting Africa is not a fate. At stake, when Africanists began to study 'popular' culture, was to recognise its vigour and contemporaneity, not to construct it in contrast to 'high' culture.

I intend my research to be located in the present ontology where the contemporaneity of Africa and her subjects is indisputable, and performative acts thus have to be contextualised and understood for their purposes and intentions.

Theorising individual and ethnic/group identity

Contemporary notions about identity debate have become tremendously more complex and multifaceted since the older concept of a cohesive, autonomous self has been largely discredited in favour of a more complex, multifarious subject with multiple identities, often with competing allegiances and interests. At the centre of the debate is the issue of cultural representation – in the media, visual art, history, literature – and how representation contributes to the expression and the very formation of identity. The latter is particularly

important because identity is now understood to be socially constructed rather than naturally given (Marschall 2002: 167).

The theoretical take remains one that acknowledges the ability of both an individual and/or group(s) to constitute and invent her/him through the constant editing and re-editing of memory (Brink, 1998: 30). Identities are shaped by a combination of individual agency and external structural forces. There are two intricately interwoven processes through which identities are formed and maintained. Firstly, individuals and groups are “assigned” or “allocated” social identities, and secondly, individuals or groups actively create their own sense of identity (Delport 2006: 7; Vincent 2003: 5; Zegeye 2001: 3). Although people and groups have the potential and capacity to ‘construct’ their own identities, and to ‘make’ themselves, so to speak, “they often do so in circumstances that are not of their own choosing” (Delport 2006: 7). Ethnic identities are social constructs created and recreated within particular socio-economic and political contexts (Mudimbe 1988; Mamdani 1996; Ranger 1983).

Manuel Castells’ (2004) identity construction theory gives particular insights to the ways in which various social groups are constructing their identities in post apartheid South Africa. Collective memory is used by people as “building materials from history” when constructing their identities. Individuals and social groups process and rearrange these psychic historical materials “according to social determinations and cultural projects that they are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework” (Castells 2004: 7). There are three forms and origins of identity building which are legitimising identity, resistance identity and project identity (2004: 8). A legitimising identity is employed by powerful institutions of society to extend and rationalise their domination vis-a-vis social actors. A resistance identity is generated by those actors who are in positions or conditions devalued and/or stigmatised by the logic of domination. Resistance identities can become legitimising identities, when these actors gradually become more dominant in society, thereby legitimising their identity to rationalise their domination. The last type, project identities, are constructed when “social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that defines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure” (Castells 2004: 8). People have the opportunity to create voluntary identities constructed in dialogical rapport with others in a multiracial society (Taylor 1994: 34). In their creation and living out of particular identities individuals and groups draw on some

constitutive archetypical symbols of being. Due to this acknowledgement of the power of myth, symbol and allegory in identity formation, especially for individuals and communities consciously operating within the context of global cultural tourism, a Jungian approach will be used to shed light into specific textual constitutive and behavioural dynamics.

Another important perspective on identity is based on individual's *subjective positions* and their *articulation* to signify the possibility of political action in the dispersed social field of late capitalism. Here, the simple oppositions of class conflict central to orthodox Marxian analysis as constitutive of identity have been eclipsed by a plurality of *subject positions* founded in various attributes of gender, race, sexuality, religion and nationality. Politics proceeds by producing and articulating new identities which arise in order to make new democratic demands. Identities are differential, constituted only in the moment of articulation. David Joselit (2005: 305) quote Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985) who posit an anti-essentialist model of subjectivity; for Laclau and Mouffe, identities are differential, constituted only in the moment of articulation:

A no-man's-land thus emerges, making the articulatory practice possible. In this case, there is no social identity fully protected from a discursive exterior which deforms it and prevents it becoming fully sutured. Both the identities and the relations lose their necessary character. As a systematic structural ensemble, the relations are unable to absorb the identities; but as the identities are purely relational, this is but another way of saying there is no identity which can be fully constituted (cf Joselit 2005: 305).

Within the constructedness of any type of identity, whether individual or ethnic, lies its fictiveness. In view of this Kwame Appiah notes that every single claimed identity has its share of false presuppositions, of the errors and inaccuracies of myth, heresy and magic. He continues; "Invented histories, invented ideologies, invented cultural affinities come with every identity; each is a kind of role that has to be scripted by conventions of narrative to which the world never quite manages to conform" (1992: 174). Appiah's assertion is that some identity labels are more functional than 'real' in the abstract sense. To him, while racism, nationalism and ethnicity exist in practice, identities of race, the nation and the 'tribe' are social inventions rooted in 'invented traditions'¹³.

¹³ Appiah (1992:173-180) actually gives the Ibgo of Nigeria and the Shona of Zimbabwe as two ethnic groups created in the twentieth century. The Ibgo are a creation from the Biafran War. Thus being "African" or

In spite of its constructedness and fictive status ethnic identities are an offshoot of perceived or real common bonds. These may be blood, kinship, affinity, identity, utility, or worship ties. Belonging to a group may not only be that people were born into it but also because a certain association or community best advances their interests and concerns in a given time and place (Chazan *et al* 1992: 74-75). Hence Naomi Chazan *et al* (1992: 106) define ethnicity as follows:

[It is] a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties and aspirations; ethnic group pertains to organised activities by persons, linked by a consciousness of a special identity, who jointly seek to maximize their corporate political, economic, and social interests. Ethnicity, or a sense of peoplehood, has its foundations in combined remembrances of past experiences and in common aspirations, values, norms, and expectations. The validity of these beliefs and remembrances is of less significance to an overarching sense of affinity than is their ability to symbolize a people's closeness to one another.

I will not attempt to look at the macro ethnic groups beyond the #Xhomi and the Zulu involved in performative and artistic works within the cultural tourism industry. My concern is with performative ethnicity in designated spaces and media, although I am aware that ethnic uses and politics are malleable and multivalent.¹⁴ Ethnic groups are also not homogeneous as their articulation in some media purport they are; but they have internal variations according to class, gender, and the extent to which ethnic identification is salient in the lives of individuals (Hendricks 1998; 104-105; Chazan *et al* 1992:107). Some people within a group have more interest in asserting their identity. This allows for the emergence of multiple identities and interests amongst individuals who claim to belong to the same ethnic group. The 'Zulu' and the 'Bushman' obviously have reasons for articulations of their identities, amongst them preservation of imagined tradition and culture and its aesthetics, economic opportunity and political agency.

claiming any ethnic identity central to contemporary life on the continent, is a matter of the constantly redefinition of 'tribal' identities to meet the economic and political exigencies of the times (see also Ranger 1983).

¹⁴ For example, there are different manifestations of ethnicity such as 'liberation ethnicity' which is quite different from 'fundamentalist' or 'chauvinist ethnicity' (Chazan 1992; Doornboos 1991; 53-65).

Culture is the pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms, including actions, utterances and meaningful objects of various kinds, by virtue of which individuals communicate with each other and share their lived experiences, conceptions and beliefs (Thompson 1990: 132; Geertz 1973). My conception of culture and identity is symbolic and semiotic, and I agree with the view that culture is a system of signs and symbols in which meaning is “stored” and continuously awaits interpretation. According to Clifford Geertz drawing from Max Weber, “man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun” (1973:5). Cultural tourism can only be a site of signs and symbols that are constantly being made by both tourists and cultural performers.

Identity and ethnicity are intricately connected. In fact, all notions of ethnicity can be best understood if the concept of identity, upon which ethnicity rests, is unpacked. The principal approach to identity is drawn from Stuart Hall’s two models of identity (1995; 1996; 1997). The first model assumes that identity is intrinsic, originary and essentialistic; identity is defined by a common origin or a common structure of experience or both. Identity is in this case predicated on ‘naturalistic’ or ‘genetic’ premises. Psychologistic analysis commits the error of essentialism; the ‘being’ of an individual or collective is embodied and emplaced within some genetic logic that therefore explains their psychological, intellectual, social, cultural and emotional existence. This strain of thinking is prone to many naturalistic fallacies, the most important of which is arguably that individuals in the same essentialist category are fundamentally the same (Rojek 2005: 36-37). Hall’s second model of identity argues that identity is not homogenous, static or fixed, but is fluid, temporal, always in flux, always evolving, relational and circumstantial (Hall 1996: 89). This perspective accepts that identity is always in the process of formation, that is individuals or collectives are always *becoming* something. This second model is dramatic, performative and creative, and would best elaborate the activities that take place at cultural villages and the artistic or cultural productions that are currently being produced. In short, the second model helps me conceptualise the existential realities of the Bushmen and the Zulu, while I contrast/compare/synchronise with their contemporary lived realities with the mythologised, stereotypical and archetypal representations which ironically remain part of their performative lives (Marshall & Gardner 1958; Perrott 1992; Myburgh 1985).

Literature on symbolic and visual culture of contemporary Zulu and Bushmen

Critical literature on contemporary cultural tourism involving the Bushmen and the Zulu is growing slowly, although there is a huge corpus of popular ethnographies and travel stories in coffee table magazines and newspapers (Allen & Brennan 2004; Jansen van Veuren 2000; Marschall 2003). A considerable body of literature is also emerging from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's post-graduate researchers in the Culture, Communication and Media Studies Department (CCMS). Articles, dissertations and books have been published with special focus especially on the Bushmen communities of the Northern Cape and those at Ngwatle in southern Botswana (Boloka 2001; Dyll 2009; Lange 2007; McLennan-Dodd 2003; 2007; Simoes 2001; Clelland-Stokes 2003; 2007; Tomaselli 2005; 2007). Matching studies on cultural tourism and identity claims emanating from those ventures amongst the Zulu are also published (Enevoldsen 2003; Francis 2007, 2009a, 2009b; Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004; Tomaselli 1999). All this literature is unanimous in concluding that identities are complex and fluid, especially contemporary Zulu and Bushmen self-presentations. Identities are always in a flux and being constructed, reconstructed and negotiated within given contexts by particular subjects as they encounter other people. There is, however, a level at which certain 'essentialised' myths and stereotypes are produced and reproduced in specific places such as cultural villages in order to make money out of the cultural tourism industry (Boloka 2001; Ndlela 2002; Sehume 1999; Simoes 2001; Tomaselli & Wang 2001).

The performative nature of all types of commercialised ethnographic displays, whether in the Kalahari amongst the Bushmen or in KwaZulu-Natal, are therefore contrasted with the quotidian experiences of contemporary Zulu and Bushmen outside the 'living museums'. There certainly are other publications on cultural tourism and identity formation focusing on contemporary Zulu and Bushmen ethnicity, or just on cultural villages in general, that have been written outside CCMS (Marschall 2003; Allen & Brennan 2004).

Zulu Identities is a timely tome that helps to place the multifarious idea of Zuluness at the centre of contemporary twenty-first century discourses about identity politics in post-apartheid/post colonial South Africa (Carton, Laband & Sithole 2008). The book attempts to give attention to all possible socio-political, historical, symbolic and archetypal facets of Zulu cultural life for both the individual and the group. *Zulu Identities* demystifies the notion of Zuluness. Zuluness is established as a site of imagination, cognition and expression in

everyday life. Each chapter is a vignette contributing to the complex, multifaceted and fluctuating patterns of contemporary Zuluness and both the direct and tenuous forces that cause its articulation by a diverse number of individuals and social groups across gender, race, class, ethnicity and age. Indeed, there are manifestations of Zuluness over and above the basic essentialist parameters of biological or genetic classification; this manifestation of Zuluness is both a feeling and a consciousness of being Zulu, if not for a flirting moment as one emulates certain Zulu associated attributes and then incorporate these into one's own existential practices even though one is not *biologically* necessarily from the Zulu ethnic group *per se*.

Contemporary Zulu identity constructions have been problematised before, albeit in limited spatial terms in print media form, and conclusions reached that there are inherent inconsistencies, ambiguities and fluxes in claims towards Zuluness by various groups and individuals. The main thesis is that there is no one homogenous Zulu identity, especially one that is constructed and administered from above either by the monarchy or the political formation. Zulu identity *per se* is not universal but to be honest to the empirical realities of lived experiences by both individual and groups, there however are Zulu identities. Zuluness has also been a formative process with its peak moments of intensity when it pulled together diverse people some of who previously claimed other identities contrary to the 'dominant' Zulu identity espoused by the monarchy and the Zulu elites. Some of these people strategically claimed their Zuluness as a response to the injustices, humiliations and unfair dispossessions of resources that marked the colonial and apartheid dispensation. The main thesis is thus articulated by Benedict Carton (2008: 4) in the introduction to the volume as follows:

Informed by...postcolonial ideas, *Zulu Identities* explores the cultural alchemy of *ubuZulu bethu*, an idiom... that captures the shared narratives, hybrid expressions and contradictory meanings of 'our Zuluness', which different actors espouse or discard over time. *Ubuntu bethu* also provides the spatial metaphor to situate studies of Zuluness in a research commons, an area of inquiry defined more by its intersecting paths than by high boundaries; some routes vary from the worn to fresh; others vanish or rematerialise. This network can be navigated with multiple tools such as fluency in isiZulu, *mfecane* debates, Biblical exegeses, public health policy, cosmologies of traditional medicine, and so forth. Moreover, in contrast to the

late apartheid period, contributors to *Zulu Identities* now enter the commons without the overriding fear of reprisal.

Previously discussions about Zuluness were potentially explosive and dangerous, and one could be classified an African National Congress (ANC) sympathiser or an Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporter with dire consequences for academics found on the 'wrong' side. The contributors give focus on Zuluness whilst at the same time drumming up the parity of all cultural groups in a multicultural postcolonial dispensation. They are extolling Zulu world views, virtues and sensibilities, locating the Zulu in time and space and place, but also insisting that this is not the time for rigid essentialism or the glorification of outdated political programs predicated on Zulu fundamentalism. The authors either explicitly, or by implication, subscribe to the politics of multiculturalism, but they obviously are not preaching for a new South Africa without a political 'centre' as such. The locus of identity and the pledge to ultimate and most noble pledge to belonging is the universal 'rainbow nation' of South Africa, firstly, and by extension the global world community, in both cases the notion of citizenship is paramount. Zuluness is not being depreciated, nor is there any 'non-recognition' or 'mis-recognition' that might unreasonably provoke or might have adverse effects on people who generally claim to be Zulu (Taylor 1994). What Zuluness gains in its recognition is demystification and its perpetuation within the contemporary postcolony lest it become anachronistic and redundant, out of step with the times. Zuluness has to assume the modest role of another cultural group with its internal strengths and weaknesses, myths and untruths, and whose very existential reality is open to enquiry and doubting especially when some vital constituent members at times articulate allegiances to other ethnic identities and at times prefer autonomous identities since they claim they were incorporated through coercion. The modern state the coercive powers are the preserve of the state and no other instrument, any such execution is contrary to the principles of modern democracy. The social contract of the modern state is premised on a certain level of voluntarism in which the individual subjects him or herself to the large state collective willingly, while acknowledging that in the event that he or she transgresses he or she is punished or excommunicated accordingly (Rousseau 1968). No other social organisation has the powers to imprison or exile a citizen in a modern democracy besides the constitutional state.

Zulu Identities might read as a provocative treatise against certain political interests. In that regard it extends the boundaries of 'activist academia'. The fears often expressed by

Mangosuthu Buthelezi leader of the IFP about the onslaught on Zulu culture and identity seem to be real in some respects, and insignificant in others. In the sense of the survival and perpetuation of Zulu culture in the new world order there are people who will voluntarily subscribe to the notions and standards of Zuluness and propriety. Some exceptional new adherents or claimants might even come such as the declarations made by Oprah Winfrey that she has had a DNA test that proves scientifically that she is Zulu (Carton 2008; 3). On the other hand Zuluness as represented in an ethnically based political organisation might be anachronistic in the new dispensation, and might find itself irrelevant on the political landscape.¹⁵ A political formation such as the IFP or the intrinsic political character of the monarchy might need reinvention just as they have always done in order to remain relevant (Carton *et al* 2008; Hamilton 1998). The writers might sound impudent to traditional leadership and their analysis might also be unsavoury at this moment, given that there are national elections next year. Buthelezi is standing in opposition to the ruling ANC and has already made charges that the young Turks in the ANC Youth League are disrespectful of him, hence he is not going to get into an alliance with the ruling Party. This was happening at a time when ANC had made inroads into the traditional KwaZulu-Natal IFP stronghold and not without some human cost since sporadic inter-party attacks and assassinations have been recorded before and after the new millennium (Kaarsholm 2006a).

In a reflexive contribution, Mbongiseni Buthelezi, who ironically shares the same surname with the IFP leader, admonishes the Buthelezi people to “strive for South African citizenship as a more accurate and collective designation and identity than the Zulu ethnic classification” (Buthelezi 2008: 31; Sithole 2008: xvii). In an article cheekily titled “The empire talks back: re-examining the legacies of Shaka and Zulu Power in post-apartheid South Africa”, Mbongiseni Buthelezi situates himself and his clan in the position of the ‘subjugated’ in a socio-political matrix “where the subjugator and the subjugated were both indigenous black people”. He calls for redress or at least repentance by Zulu ‘imperial’ elites on their subjects for the black on black injustices and inequalities they systematically perpetuated, just as was done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Buthelezi 2008: 24). Failure to de-link from the elite Zulu project and to reassert their own ethnic identity with a long history as

¹⁵ The IFP has ethnic roots in Inkatha the cultural organisation and has had a multiracial base even during the apartheid days. In post-apartheid South Africa IFP continues to have support from rural white farmers in Northern KZN and has white MPs, with its current media campaign and rebranding led by an Indian.

testified in their muffled and stifled *izibongo* (praise-poetry), the Buthelezi people would alas be condemned to anonymity and mimicry. Buthelezi (2008: 31) wryly notes:

Still, the belief in being Zulu will probably not be discarded. It constitutes a part of post-apartheid society, which is why calls for greater national belonging should not simply dismiss Zulu cultural chauvinism as a tired relic of colonialism. Rather, they should encourage a wide-ranging investigation into what it means to be Zulu. For Mangosuthu Buthelezi's ancestor, Inkosi Phungashe, being Zulu meant the elision of his ancestral pasts. As a consequence, today Buthelezi people and other clans continue to serve the harsh sentence imposed by Shaka, an indeterminate term of history-less-ness.

What Mbongiseni perhaps is calling for is for the Buthelezi people to strategically move with the tide and continue benefiting from the new dispensation, paying allegiance not to an imagined Zuluness identity, but to a South African and universal citizenship. The modern state is supreme and offers more opportunities compared to the old monarch and related ethnic affiliation. Exigencies of the day demand that old personalities re-invent themselves with the advantage of new moral standards of ethnic parity and multiculturalism, whilst placing themselves strategically for the development and benefits of the larger and much more complex body politic – South Africa. The new logic of equality obviously discards old systems of social stratification such as classifying people according to rank as *zansi*, *amalala*, etc, predicated on heredity, conquest and other economic dynamics. Apartheid also had its old cast system (Zegeye 2001; Hendricks 1998). The post-colonial dispensation ascribes to neo-liberal notions of rights and justice hence stratifications are archaic, although other forms of inequality are inevitable such as distinctions emanating from skewed economic privilege and opportunity (Giroux 2004; Wallerstein 1999).

Shortly before David Webster was assassinated, he wrote a chapter that was published posthumously in which he mentioned that there were competing Zulu and Thonga¹⁶ ethnic identities in the Ingwavuma area of KwaZulu-Natal (Sithole 2008: xvii:.) When it looked as if asserting their ethnic autonomy was beneficial, especially for the Thonga elites, there were

¹⁶ According to historian Dingane Mthethwa (2008: 500) many so-called isiZulu-speaking inhabitants of Kosi Bay and Maputaland, north of the KwaZulu homeland, still regard themselves as Thonga people. They owe their allegiance to area clans rather than to the Zulu king. Mthethwa further notes that some older people, especially women, prefer to converse in isiGonde, a dialect of Maputaland related to isiThonga, which incidentally has deeper and different linguistic roots in the region than isiZulu.

submissions to the Nhlopa Commission arguing that they were not voluntarily existing under the Zulu monarch recognised in the area. The submissions were scuttled with a mixture of rebukes and intimidations. Interestingly, the same Thonga communities strategically use notions of Zulu primordial identity for cultural economic gain. Webster found that these people were filled with ‘consummate cultural entrepreneurs’ drawing on ‘a repertoire of ethnic features’, including the strong Zulu warrior that appealed to European employers on the Witwatersrand (Carton & Draper 2008: 592). Dingane Mthethwa also concurs that throughout the 1980s and 1990s, many inhabitants of Kosi Bay - some of whom ironically are ‘rejecting’ Zulu identity nowadays – basically accepted the tourist brochures that labelled their area a tropical Zulu outpost “because this claim generated some revenue from vacationers seeking a getaway among the once mighty tribe of South Africa” (Mthethwa 2008: 500).

The idea of Zuluness as an identity of choice rather than something essentially genetic and primordial is best exemplified in the ethnographic works, performances and enactments of Barry Leitch and Kingsley Holgate who are identified by Zulu as honorary white Zulu. The two built cultural villages in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng which showcase Zulu ‘culture’ and ‘tradition’, although they are on record for attempting to make a ‘cross-cultural’ presentation of Zuluness (Carton & Draper 2008; Hamilton 1998; Marschall 2003).

Other chapters showcase traditional and contemporary Zulu visual cultures. The symbolic and utilitarian significance Zulu crafts such as ceremonial beer pots and beads, and performative ceremonies is presented and analysed (Armstrong 2008: 414-417; Winters 2008: 418-423). W.D. Hammond-Tooke looks at the role of cattle in Zulu traditional culture. The language of identifying particular herds by virtue of their colours and mannerism creates a fascinating pastoral sensibility. However, this early study fails to imagine the symbolism of cattle in the lives of urbanised Zulu dislocated from the rural environment and the cattle economy (Hammond-Tooke 2008: 62-67). Performative visual traditions are particularly captured in the Zulu maidens coming of age ceremonies that remain a feature of Zulu traditions both in towns and in the countryside. These performances are not meant for the tourist gaze, but they are a visual articulation of living traditions, much as there are syncretic mutations and variations in these dramatisations (Magwaza 2008: 482-496). The girl’s coming of age is paradoxically refracted in another chapter about the auto-ethnographic representations of a Zulu young man’s coming of age. Academic Mxolisi Mchunu (2008:

573-582) writes about how as a contemporary young Zulu man he has done domestic work for a white family as a stage of maturation, reinventing and reconstructing ‘traditional’ Shakan modes of development which would have required him to join *amabutho* as a sign of manhood and personal growth.

The book provides chapters on some archetypical Zulu traditions, some of them reinvented ironically with the assistance of ‘outsiders’. Zulu religious and symbolic life is partly re-enacted visually in the reinvention of Nomkhubulwane, a Zulu Goddess of fertility, through a dramatisation of a recuperated virginity ceremony (Lambert 2008; 545-553). The ceremony was ‘forgotten’ and was not honoured for several decades. Ironically, it took the effort and enthusiasm of a prominent Zulu *isangoma*¹⁷ and teacher, Nomagugu Ngobese, who claimed to be inspired by a dream in 1994, hence committed herself to writing a university dissertation for a BA Honours degree in isiZulu on Nomkhubulwane, and her American supervisor at the University of Natal’s Drama Studies Dr Kathryn Limakatso Kendall. Ngobese predicted that by resurrecting the Goddess (and presumably, virginity testing for girls) would help in the fight against AIDS and ‘unnecessary’ pregnancies, as well as foster reconciliation among the “Black people of Africa’ (Lambert 2008; 546). The ceremony was conducted from 27 to 29 September 1996 with the hope of annual performances thereafter¹⁸.

Most chapters in *Zulu Identities* illustrate that contemporary Zuluness is ambivalent, incongruous and in flux, even when political leadership would prefer a homogenous unitary identity and social formation. The concluding article, while also advocating multiculturalism, however points out at the inadequacies of ‘the rainbow nation’ as experienced under Thabo Mbeki. Writes William Freund (2008: 609-610):

The initial tendency by the government to trumpet the existence of rainbow multiculturalism has been sidelined under the presidency of Thabo Mbeki, who advanced the African

¹⁷ *Isangoma* (plural *Izangoma*) is a traditional healer.

¹⁸ The vision for the reinvention of the ceremony and ritual amongst the key persons involved do not always flow without disagreements. For instance, given her feminist background Dr. Kendall was pointedly against the virginity testing that was integral to the ceremony, but she had no outright influence and control of the reformation and re-imagination proceedings. Local ‘credible’ elders contributed oral memory on how it was supposedly done in the past (Lambert 2008).

Renaissance through affirmative action and black empowerment legislation. In other words, he encouraged black South Africans to think of their society primarily in terms of race, not ethnicity.

Fortunately, state development initiatives have been evenly distributed within the KwaZulu-Natal province, arguably “the poorer of the average South African province(s)” not suffering exclusion. Nonetheless, the most important and challenging perspectives are written again by Mbongiseni Buthelezi who ‘rebels’ against an ‘enforced’ Zulu identity and wants his ‘subaltern’ Buthelezi group to assert themselves and proudly assume, instead, a larger global South African global identity and classification.

The issues dealt with in this tome reinforce conclusions already made by other scholars on notions of race and ethnicity (Appiah 1992; Hall 1996; 1997). The rejection of identity as originary is emphasised throughout; hence a sensitive and conscious adoption and use of any identity label is called for. Any such use or claim to identity should only accept the parity of ethnic groups in contemporary socio-cultural global terrain, where all ethnic groups are vested with similar status and significance. Ethnic fundamentalism and chauvinism no longer has a place in the present progressive environment and its corresponding normative and justice framework.

Belinda Kruiper’s Story and its significance for this study

The hybridity and complexities associated with Zuluness and Zulu identities are also not untypical of what is the state and character of contemporary Bushman identities. I deliberately chose to review a book ‘co-authored’¹⁹ by Belinda Kruiper and Elana Bregin centring on the former’s life in the Kalahari amongst the ≠Khomani Bushman. To know Belinda’s story is to partially comprehend the contradictions, paradoxes and ambiguities of the ≠Khomani identity and social composition. By getting *Kalahari Rainsong* (2004) published Belinda has done a type of native ethnography (Denzin 1997; Denzin & Lincoln

¹⁹ Belinda ostensibly ‘co-authored’ *Kalahari RainSong* with Elana Bregin, who had been invited by the CCMS project to contribute to a San cultural tourism venture (Bregin & Kruiper, 2004). The book has a major structural problem, which actually demands answers on ‘authority’. Who is the author and how was it authored? The book has a section entitled “Authors’ notes”, in which Elana Bregin first, then Belinda Kruiper write individual introductory remarks on how they met and decided on producing a book. The resultant book struggles for identity; is it a biography of Belinda’s life *written* by Elana alone? Or is it an ‘autobiographical’ composition in which Elana was a simple stenographer, a very technical wordsmith and editor? What is Bregin’s role and identity in the proper story given that she never features?

2002a; Ellis & Bochner 2000; Tomaselli *et al* 2008). She writes an ‘insider-outsider’ story, where she insists, however, on why and how she belongs to the Bushman community, culture and traditions. Her story is manifest with ambiguities and paradoxes that perhaps best typify the postcolonial and postmodern human condition in Africa. Here is a woman previously classified ‘coloured’ under apartheid laws, light enough in complexion to be mistaken for a ‘white’ woman by some, claiming Bushman identity and ancestral lineage to the First People, never mind how tenuous and contrived it might sound.

Belinda married ≠Khomani artist Vetkat Kruiper one of the few Bushmen who might claim something closest to pure Bushmen ‘genes’ albeit on his mother’s side since his own father Regopstaan, we are told by the daughter-in-law, was not without his own genetic blemishes! Belinda becomes an “insider” through marriage and self-definition. Elsewhere Keyan Tomaselli (2006; 2008) has pointed out the dilemmas and contradictions associated with Belinda’s identity and status as both a member of the ≠Khomani community and as an articulate informant and ‘organic intellectual’ who is also busy theorising the interactions of her adopted community within itself and with ‘outsiders’. The term ‘organic intellectual’ is derived from Antonio Gramsci (1971) who defines certain kinds of intellectuals located and embedded in the communities they live and work in as such. Conceptualising the ‘organic intellectual’ in a hegemonic structure, Gramsci saw individuals defined as such as not only critical components of the community, but agents of radical education. Gramsci’s (1971: 350) insight on educative culture is that “[e]very relationship of ‘hegemony’ is necessarily an educational relationship”. This implies that education as a cultural pedagogical practice takes place across multiple sites as it signals how, within diverse contexts, education makes us both subjects of and subjects to relations of power (1971: 350). Cultural politics scholar Henry Giroux (2004: 114; 138) further explains Gramsci’s conception of education as a system which “assigns critical meaning to action, connects understanding with engagement, and links engagement with the hope of democratic transformation”. In short, an educative culture that stretches across formal schooling institutions is a precondition for producing subjects capable of making their own histories within diverse economies of power and politics. It is in this capacity that Belinda can best be viewed as an articulate agent in her community strategically placed to communicate with both “insiders” (≠Khomani people) and “outsiders” (visiting NGOs, scholars and researchers, development agencies, filmmakers, etc).

Tomaselli brings to attention Belinda's allegedly manipulative explanation of her condition and status and those of others – fellow community members, NGOs, filmmakers, development planners, researchers, and all. Whatever she does is hence predicated on her feeling of restriction/proscription, her wealth of local knowledge and networks but material poverty, her position as an insider by marriage, but scorned for being 'coloured' by some sections of researchers and local Bushmen folks. Hence she is also an 'outsider' by birth/ethnicity and heritage although she tries very hard to trace some Bushman blood in her grandfather to justify her own affinity for Bushmen. Belinda's dilemmas bring to the fore questions as Tomaselli (2006: 259) puts them: "When is family not family? When is not-family family? When is one a "San" and when not? Who decides on how informants should be chosen, ranked, and accredited, on the basis of what and whose criteria?". The semiotics of the encounter locates researchers similarly. Tomaselli rather suavely observes that the way Belinda has married into the Kruiper family and the ≠Khomani community is similar to the way we as researchers have married in, "in an academic sense", thus we justify our presence and practice (Tomaselli 2006: 260).

The ≠Khomani community remains impoverished, marginalised, largely misunderstood and exoticised. Some of its key members such as Petrus Vaalbooi still receive jibes from certain quarters for being "Coloured" passing for Bushmen. Even in the new dispensation the Bushmen identity is a site of contestation with critics viewing it as territory for opportunists who want to harvest out of contemporary high valorisation of the First People status (Chapman 1996: 33). Belinda is intricately positioned in these dynamics and she strategically uses identity, at once claiming Bushmanness and rejecting the regressive continuation of apartheid-postapartheid racial classification. Reclamation of "Bushman" identity enables her to work the international market for her husband's art while also underlining the role and rights of an original "First Nation," which feels grievously damaged by history.

Native ethnography is a form of reflexive ethnography (Ellis & Bochner, 2000: 740). Since Belinda interprets her life amongst the ≠Khomani, fighting for space and recognition as well as insisting on her rights to be a Bushman both as a matter of choice and spiritually, her book is therefore partially reflexive. However, this is not reflexivity in Fabian's (1979) or Jay Ruby's (2000) sense of highlighting the relations of producer-process-product but a more organic application of reflexivity in which she is self-conscious of her subjectivity in her "new" community, itself part of the wider South African society. *Kalahari RainSong* thus is a

“personal narrative” which is not mindful in an epistemological way of the methodological device of reflexivity (Tomaselli 2006: 255). Belinda’s story is particularly important for the purposes of this thesis because she writes about her interactions with the so-called “Riverbed Kids” – the ≠Khomani artists, self-performers and craft-makers who include amongst them Silikat van Wyk, Vetkat Kruiper, Riekie Kruiper, Jacob and Lena Malgas, amongst other people. This is the artistically inclined ≠Khomani group largely visible by the roadside in the desert selling crafts and telling stories.

Belinda Kruiper’s position within the ≠Khomani community is complicated at best. She certainly is a sophisticated, literate and informed source, living in community and knowledgeable about their daily plight. Since she is articulate and goes public about her people’s condition she is an organic intellectual in the Gramscian (1971) sense of one being embedded in the community, but critically writing and recording about processes and developments therein. Figuratively, she lives ambivalently within and at the margin of the community. In tense moments the essential ≠Khomani insiders exclude her as an outsider on some matters, but she insists on speaking for, speaking about, and speaking with them, especially with regard to local people’s traumatic encounters with modernity. Yet she and Vetkat before he died in January 2007 had also strategically withdrawn from the inner circle of traditional ≠Khomani life. They preferred the relatively alcohol free environs of a sand dune at Blinkwater, away from the rest of the disruptive and bickering Kruiper clan, who obviously resented the move. Tomaselli (2006: 260) makes these incisive observations about Belinda vis-à-vis researchers and the community:

She is both activist and power broker, friend and foe, provocateur and mediator. She plays the contradictions and tensions between what the individuals/community expect from researchers, and what the latter consider to be their ethical responsibilities. Like ourselves, Belinda is both “insider/outsider, refugee/chronicler, and therapist/practitioner” seeking elusive improvements for the concerned people.... (She) defies borders and policies, articulates what’s often left unsaid, and is both ally and adversary. These are positions that she reserves for all who work with and/or against her. Embedded in her comments are both the “ego” and the collective discourse. Which is which is not easy to distinguish.

That she previously worked for SASI and the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP - which is also known as the Gemsbok Park) gives her good insight into how to affect issues from a

variety of perspectives (Dyll 2004: 88; Tomaselli 2003b: 2006). Notwithstanding the lavish praise she has given to the CCMS research team led by Tomaselli, Belinda has made oblique criticism that the CCMS researchers and others must pay heed to. She has counterpoised her own work in the desert as a critique and an othering of professional researchers who are ‘outsiders’, hence do not intimately know or respect their research community.

My love for (the Bushmen) was completely unconditional. They were a drug I couldn’t get enough of and all I wanted was to be with them. *I didn’t go in as the researchers did, prying, analysing, asking endless questions.* I was just ‘Tannie Billie’, wanting nothing more than to be in their company, sharing in the magic of the Riverbed”, she says (Bregin and Kruiper 2004: 41 – italics mine).

It should be noted early that the arts and crafts and roadside exhibitions of Bushmanness are a ready income source for local residents. Unfortunately, a considerable number of them are alcoholics and have dysfunctional families. Belinda’s ‘ethnographic’ story is useful in understanding the community and personalities involved in the arts and crafts production. This is a composite text that embodies some of the contemporary existential realities of Bushman life as documented by an ‘insider’ – the joy, pain, grief, laughter, tears, domestic violence and alcoholism and all - notwithstanding the world of myth, fantasy and the supernatural.

The ills of the Bushmen are magnified and exaggerated due to their underdog and marginalised status, even though most of their follies are common amongst other contemporary peoples. Belinda however is empathetic. For instance, Belinda (2004: 40-41) writes:

[T]he Bushmen are criticised for being ‘dronkies’, squatters and troublesome especially when they encounter tourists, yet “the ‘Boere’ also partied, got drunk, got into fights and hit their wives...[W]hat the Bushmen did was just human weakness, no different to what went on in other community...The difference was that in other communities, the screaming, shouting and abuse happened behind closed doors. The Bushmen didn’t have the luxury of walls to do it behind. So it all hung out on the roadside for everyone to see.

This is a concern vented by most Bushmen in the Kalahari even during my visits there, especially the ‘educated’ pro-active spokespersons, such as Petrus Valbooi and Katrina Koper

the administrator at #Khomani Sîsen Craft centre, who accuse the Molopo Lodge management of being selective in their banning of customers as rowdy white bullies seem never to be openly reprimanded. However, Belinda is not going to let the Bushmen's inadequacies and petty jealousies distract her from living a full healthy life with limited stress. In a rather epiphanic realisation she concludes understandably: "So many times during the dark days, I cried out to God to give me a sign, to let me know what was required from me, why I had been brought to the Kalahari, what all the suffering and the struggling had been for. I used to think that my role was to save...But now I know that I can't do that. No one can save anybody, they have to do it for themselves" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 98). In many ways *Kalahari RainSong* is a confrontational and provocative book much as it is also confessional, introspective and conciliatory narrative. It speaks resolutely for the exploited #Khomani, but similarly chides them for their own weaknesses and self-destructiveness.

Belinda tells the story of how she ended up living in the Kalahari married to Bushman artist Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper. I take the occasion to critique *Kalahari RainSong*, using it as a textual source along others such as paintings by Vetkat Kruiper (some of which are included in the book), stories told by others, and my observations during fieldtrips amongst the Bushmen. I therefore employ an inter-textual reading of various texts supplemented with other research methods in order to better understand the #Khomani community. Oral discussions and field observations as well as electronic correspondence I have done with Belinda shall be handy in my expositions. As a CCMS research team member I have had occasion to meet the late Vetkat Kruiper and his wife Belinda both in Durban and in the Kalahari, and since the artist's demise in 2006 I have maintained correspondence with Belinda who informs me that she has since become a Bushman healer and also assists with maturing Bushmen girls across the borders in Botswana.

A cursory review, but incisive as far as it went, of Belinda's book has been already done in an article co-authored by CCMS colleagues when generally writing about indigenous research methodologies (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 355-357). Incidentally, Tomaselli alone again has also presented the tentative critical appreciation of Vetkat's works (Tomaselli 2003: 61-65). Here, Tomaselli's focus has been epistemological, locating Vetkat's paintings in the history and genealogy, the trends and processes of Bushmen paintings and world art in general. Nonetheless, he does not make an in-depth appreciation and analysis of the works in their own right.

The problems of referencing and other theoretical and methodological queries my CCMS colleagues raise about the *Kalahari RainSong* remain pertinent in that the book was published by a university press. Referencing is mandatory for serious Cultural Studies publishing of any kind, especially the need for cross-referencing in scholarly and other work, not only as an act of habit, but as a form of establishing trust and subjecting oneself to peer accountability (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 355-357). Given that both Belinda and Bregin reveal that they met due to research trips facilitated by CCMS led by Tomaselli they at least needed to make reference to previous works that have emanated from similar encounters similarly facilitated before. This probably explains the discreet complaint by CCMS researchers that some people who have participated in the project have failed to give due acknowledgement to the composite group and even to works by other researchers (Tomaselli 2006; see e.g., McLennan-Dodd: 2003).

Tomaselli has paid tribute to Belinda's sharp intellectual ability: "She has an acute conceptual ability, the theoretical language, and an understanding of popular discourses and experience, which enable her to be able to analyze, explain, and ideologically represent the community, or sections of it.", he has so far written (Tomaselli 2006: 258). What she needs perhaps is some reflexive approach to her own work, and an insight into notions about semiotics (simulations and mimicry) so that even when she is mystical in her presentation, she is aware of the nature of her presentations and their ideological purposes. Again, previous cultural studies movements have had an amalgam of different personalities from different backgrounds. The Frankfurt School had its strange mixture of cultural critics, with Walter Benjamin (1969) even bringing a mystical dimension to a School that ironically was premised on the understanding of dialectical materialism. With Belinda's flamboyance and the mystical aura, academia might get an interesting revamp in interest in the popular imagination, as long as its vigorous custodians such as Tomaselli can keep the excessive energy and free imagination in check, demanding reflexivity and consciousness about methodology. It is for these reasons that *Kalahari RainSong* is used as a narrative prism and counterpoint to my understanding of the Kalahari and the construction of ≠Khomani identities there.

The book weaves together a range of narrative styles and strands, mythic, political and anecdotal. Besides the story told in prose, with poetic strains of imagery such as the use of

Esop²⁰ (Jesus) to mean a protective pet as well as the Christ, etc, myth and symbolism derived from Bushman mythology such as attaching spiritual and existential significance to a praying mantis, receiving surrealistic protection from a bird, etc., there are also vignettes of Belinda's poems that only add up to the 'prose' narrative. The poetry, most of it translated from Afrikaans (here again, Bregin should take credit if she did the translations), is sharp, simple and incisive, but incantatory, evoking the dance and song trope.

Cultural Village Tourism in South Africa: Capitalising on Indigenous Cultures

Elizabeth Jansen van Veuren (2000) observes that 'cultural tourism' is presently a significant market segment attracting attention from both tourism practitioners and scholars. She notes that while tourism marketing and products are saturated with cultural signifiers, in the field of cultural village tourism in South Africa investigations ought to be conducted to establish who might benefit from this branch of tourism. In order to understand the connection between cultural capital and economic value, Jansen van Veuren addresses three key questions in relation to cultural village tourism in South Africa. These are: i) what additional resources are required to realise the value of culture through cultural tourism, and how has the distribution of these resources shaped participation in tourism?; ii) are traditional knowledge and skills economically valuable resources?; and iii) who owns cultural resources, and what rights are associated with cultural ownership?

She tries to answer these questions examining evidence from a national survey of cultural villages undertaken during 1999/2000, alongside case studies of the Shangana Cultural Village in Mpumalanga, and the Basotho Cultural Village in the Free State. At the time of her research there were twenty-seven cultural villages in South Africa, with concentrations in KwaZulu-Natal, the Lowveld, and in and around Gauteng. Most of those villages were constructed during the 1990s with a rapid phase of construction during the second phase of that decade when the ethnic groups were revalorised in the wake of the postapartheid dispensation and increased tourist arrivals.²¹ She notes that 1996 statistics show that 29% of foreign tourists had visited a cultural village. The villages are usually under four types of ownership. The first type of ownership which also happens to constitute the largest group of ventures is under white private sector owners. They are outsiders to the cultures represented

²⁰ Esop is the pet name for Belinda's dog, which incidentally means Jesus in Nama.

²¹ Although the first cultural village was established by a white entrepreneur in 1965, very little further private investment followed in the nineteen-seventies and nineteen-eighties (Jansen van Veuren 2000: 141).

at the villages. While profit is singled out as a primary motive by Jansen van Veuren²², it is true that white entrepreneurs might have deeper feeling and identification with the depicted groups, which in some cases they even intimately believe they belong to. Such perhaps is the motive for the establishment of cultural villages by Leitch and Holgate who set up Shakaland, Simunye and Lesedi which are studied in this thesis (see Carton & Draper 2008). Indigenous (black) entrepreneurs constitute the second group who establish cultural villages based on their own cultures or on a number of South African cultures. Jansen van Veuren (2000:141) proffers the motive for this group as a combination of profit and “a strong commitment to cultural conservation and education, and/or job creation in their communities”. Finally, the state and homeland (provincial) governments have established similar villages. White-owned cultural villages were found to pay better and they benefited indigenous communities through low-level employment and handicraft production. Those villages owned by indigenous entrepreneurs employed fewer cultural employees, struggle for market access and making profits and they pay the least wages. Government-owned villages, however, pay substantially more than commercial cultural villages due to the aid of subsidies, and the status of workers as government employees.

Jansen van Veuren (2000: 146) notes that substantial investments of resources other than culture are essential for a village to be successful. Most significant of these resources are land, capital or finance as well as tourism, business and marketing skills. Indigenous peoples have always been marginalised in the tourism business and they struggle more to get established in the industry. They also often operate on communal land in South Africa and are not able to obtain freehold land rights, hence have limited ability to access finance with land as security. Communal areas also tend to have limited access to infrastructure, especially roads and established tourism flows than privately owned land around popular tourism routes.

Indigenous culture (knowledge and skills) is undoubtedly the central resource around which cultural villages are built. The most common form of expertise required from cultural workers is the ability to perform traditional dances, and some cultural villages specifically recruit talented dancers from dance competitions. Nearly all cultural performers (dancers, craftmakers, and other types of ethnographic exhibitors) at cultural villages are black,

²² Jansen van Veuren (2000:141) points out that white entrepreneurs often use the cultural villages as drawcards for other businesses (e.g. hotels or curio shops). Owners in this group are often small businesses held by individuals or families.

although Barry Leitch has performed brilliantly at Shakaland as a “white Zulu” (see Hamilton 1998; Marschall 2003). Blacks are found working as guides although whites are also seen mediating the tourism experience at certain villages. Generally whites dominate in cultural village ownership and senior management positions.

In her broad survey Jansen van Veuren makes the conclusion, just as most CCMS authors have consistently done, that the cultural village experience and spectacle is not exactly ‘authentic’ but constructed to satisfy tourists’ fantasies and expectations. She notes:

The question arises to what extent the product of cultural villages consists of indigenous/traditional culture products. Based on observation, it would appear that the cultural village product often is built to a very large extent, on an understanding of what Western tourists want, and how best to provide this. Cultural villages as such, are not a form of hospitality or sharing of culture, which exists in indigenous culture, but a construct of Western culture, which probably developed out of early open-air museums. Thus the very concept of which the product is based, the selection of elements from indigenous cultures, and ways in which they are altered and mediated, are all very important inputs into a typical cultural village product, which are based on western culture (Jansen van Veuren 2000: 150).

Nhamo Mhiripiri and Keyan Tomaselli (2004) discuss cultural tourism at Zulu cultural villages as a form of travel in which visitors are situated by the tourism industry as ‘pop anthropologists’ – as fleeting observers of people, cultures, animals and ways of life.²³ The object of the tourists’ gaze is the ‘Other’ with the encounter between observers and observed both a monetary and a symbolic transaction. We noted that although Africans have recovered their political autonomy, through tourism they now sell back to the West the same stereotypical images by which the West originally perceived the continent. Using tourism studies concepts of ‘frontstage’ and ‘backstage’ adopted from Dean MacCannell (1973) and Irving Goffman (1959), we concluded that most cultural tourism at Zulu cultural villages occurs frontstage, in the public spaces where the meeting of hosts and guests/tourists is orchestrated. Backstage is where hosts and performers conduct their own social leisure and symbolic lives. At Shakaland and Simunye in KwaZulu-Natal, and Lesedi in the North-West province, however, the front- and back-stages are conflated, which give rise to

²³ Once again, the short-term research methodology makes the encounters between observed and researchers not qualify to be pure ethnographic or anthropological; hence a preference for “pop anthropologists”.

misunderstanding when guests and hosts fail to negotiate the timing and appropriateness of a visit.

We concluded again that although it may be objected that such ‘cultural villages’ are realistic, a melange of selectively remembered traditions and modern amenities – and indeed, visitors often recognise this – those working there also argue that what they are showing is authentic culture, a true representation of the Zulu heritage. Be this as it may, it is in the demands for comfort and security that tourists’ power resides, so cultural villages are constructed in terms of tourists’ expectations, or the cultural village/hotel will fail from lack of clients (Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004).

Zulu Warrior Ethic and the Spirit of South African Capitalism

The two South African cultural entrepreneurs and filmmakers Barry Leitch and Kingsley Holgate best demonstrated the staging of Zulu identity utilising the ‘Zulu warrior ethic’ albeit to promote a new spirit of South African capitalism. Their performative acts and how they take advantage of the post apartheid dispensation in order to advance the pride, integrity and romance of Zuluness are adroitly elaborated by Benedict Carton and Malcolm Draper (2008: 591-605). Zulu values and sensibilities are made compatible with the contemporary competitive neo-liberal capitalist environment and Leitch and Holgate dramatise Zuluness successfully to the extent that they create an ‘empire’ of cultural villages centred on Zulu culture and traditions. While Carton and Draper’s article focus on the reinvention and hybridization of multiracial Zulu culture especially at Shakaland, I will expand the scope and focus to compare all villages in which the honorary white Zulu have been involved, plus PheZulu which is separately owned. Leitch’s ‘warrior ethic’ continues to influence his pursuit of business ventures that he sees as a bulwark against the “biggest tragedy being played out” in South Africa, “the loss of Zulu and other African cultures”. Draper and Carton (2008: 601) conclude about the Shakaland venture:

Shakaland continues to overflow with foreign visitors and South African schoolchildren; the latter gain entrance with their teachers through low-cost, high-volume packages. Still run by white men, Protea Hotels is showing acute awareness of African Renaissance discourses that call for greater ‘community participation’ in heritage tourism, i.e., by extending inexpensive tours to historically marginalised groups and, of course, job opportunities that aim to enhance, as in the case of Simunye, black economic competitiveness through skills and management

training programmes. This corporate embrace of how ‘the hands wash each other’ pleases Holgate and Leitch since they articulate a Zulu warrior ethic that merges self-help philanthropy with risk-taking accumulation. By contrast, the Protestant ethic in its seminal form envisaged the poor as victims of their own ungodly laziness. Thus while the Zulu warrior ethic is touted by BEE (Black Economic Empowerment), it is still a beacon for white businessmen shedding their ‘European’ skin to conquer market share in the post-apartheid era. Eschewing the ‘guns and steel’ metaphor of Western imperialist hegemony, Holgate and Leitch derive their idea of success from symbolic modes of Zulu patriarchy. It appears that some corporate gurus who extol Shaka as the transcendental model of fearless achievement are doing the same, as democratic South Africa is laid bare to the ruthless competitors of the global economic system.

Carolyn Hamilton (1998: 198) had earlier given a critical appreciation of the “hyper-reality” (as theorised by Baudrillard (1983)) that is Shakaland, an architectural set that subverted and parodied all notions of ‘authenticity’ primarily by being a retained film-set converted into a cultural village. The experience at Shakaland, according to Hamilton is meant to impress on people that Zuluness is not threatening but rather something that could be visited and assimilated into both a larger South African hybrid culture compatible with middleclass values and sensibilities.

The archetype paradigm mythogenesis and leisure

Cultural tourism is a growing global practice that relies on ‘branding’ of the tangible and intangible characteristics (and artefacts) of ethnic groups through the use of myths, stereotypes, and metaphors. Amid the progress of globalization, the mythic/archetypical paradigm, based in large part on Jungian archetype theory, has placed particular ethnic groups in the public imagination. Universal symbolism associated with a particular ethnic group is produced and reproduced, and circulated so that as many people as possible may be able to identify them in one way or another. As a result, the brand “archetype” becomes an ‘icon’, which is widely preferred and ‘purchased’ by a large number of ‘loyal’ consumers from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds.

According to Chris Rojek (2005 117)

[m]ythogenesis refers to the development, reproduction and transformation of a narrative that dramatizes world vision and sense of community and reduces it to a series of compelling

metaphors”. The narrative form selectively, and, one might add, seductively, encapsulates human action upon nature and culture. Thus, it draws on people’s relation to the land, the place of God (or gods) in the community and the marking and commemoration of decisive events such as battles, wars or heroic journeys. The celebration and reproduction of these symbolic materials are certainly concentrated in leisure forms and practice. Myth transforms these features into original and eternal markers of national or racial identity.

According to Jung (1973; 1977) human beings have preconscious psychological potentials called “archetypes”, enabling them to react in a human manner. These represent an unlearned tendency to experience things in a certain way, acting as an “organizing principle” for the things we see or do. Only a few basic archetypes or templates exist at the unconscious level, but there is an infinite variety of specific images which lead back to them. In other words, archetypes are elemental forces that play a vital role in the creation of the world and of the human mind itself. The archetypal patterns and images are found in every culture and in every period of human history, pointing to the fact humans do not have separate and individualized unconscious minds in an absolute sense. In many ways, they share a single “universal unconscious”, in which the human mind is rooted as a tree is rooted in the ground. Through archetypal patterns and images, we represent the invisible realities of the human soul or psyche. Quite a few historical and social materials exhibit a surprising commonality in both form and substance, and it is these universal patterns of archetypes that shape them.

Archetypal myths help people to make sense of the world around them, dealing with a deeper understanding, or truth, about the human condition. Myths, as factual or fictitious accounts of historical events, speak of an inner truth in a way that science cannot. It is irrelevant whether they are true or false; what matters are the meanings that archetypal myths can bring to the human experience (Vambe 2004).

The primary rationale for incorporating the archetype paradigm into cultural tourism, is grounded in the understanding that ethnic iconography, mythical images and stereotypes amongst other popularised images and narratives, like archetypes, reflect the ways in which humans interpret their relationships with their way of life, and thus serve to provide symbolic meaning that tourists around the world may use for identifying destinations. Thus, cultural tourism entrepreneurs and ‘ethnic’ cultural performers strive to discover the universal “soul”

of their brands, and then express it in ways that tap into universal archetypes, connecting with the fundamental psychological inclinations of consumers so as to create true global icons.

The 'myth' of the native as a 'leisure resource' or an 'exotic' spectacle continues in cultural tourism marketing (Bester & Buntman 1999; Buntman 1996a; 1996b; Rojek 2005: 119; Tomaselli & Wang 2001). Some European and American anthropologists in the 1930s to 1950s were interested in the study of "primitive" people whom they regarded in effect as "our living ancestors" and whose societies they regarded as "contemporary vestiges of our own distant past (Cheater 1986; Ntarangwi, Babiker & Mills 2006; Fabian 2006). It has been one of the principal impulses of modern anthropology both to preserve as to document these cultures (Stille 2002; xix; Fabian 2005). Although the myths about the 'primitive' Others clustered around the incontrovertible fact of racial difference, they also filter through every institutional level including play and recreation (Rojek 2005: 119). Several writers have revealed how the so-called 'natives' have developed hybrid mythologies in response to European (Caucasian) condescension and physical aggression (Taussig 1993; Rojek 2005).

Whilst stereotypes and myths predominate in tourism marketing media, the attitudes and awareness amongst people about the presumed 'primitive' Other have radically changed over the decades. According to Rojek (2005), the European white myth of superiority is routinely scolded and scorned upon today, yet exoticized images of other people and other places persist in the media. He writes: "The American West continues to be regarded as more wild, untamed, primitive and exciting than the East or the European homelands...Racist myths about Caucasians and non-Caucasians persist in leisure and society, even if it is much harder to proclaim them now without censure" (Rojek 2005: 120-121).

Aesthetic theories

The fact that I am looking partly at Zulu and Bushmen performative cultures means that I will have to contend with notions of *liveness*. According to Philip Auslander (1996: 196) in our current, mediatised culture, live performance is a largely marginalised enterprise. Even such large-scale attractions as sporting events and music concerts do not command audiences on the scale of the mass media. In any case, these 'marginal' live performances are still mediatised through live coverage and other kinds of transmissions. My study focuses on very marginal live performances and visual cultures in the form of artistic and performative acts at cultural villages, or art incidentally 'induced' by the cultural tourism market. The

interpersonal and immediate nature of the encounters and experiences nearly make them ‘ontologically pristine’, ‘divorced’ from the dominant cultural economy of the mass media, yet I know that these performances inform and are in turn informed by media generated images (Auslander 1996: 197; Francis 2007). Peggy Phelan (1993: 146) is famous for articulating “the ontology of performance” in which the basic ontological fact is performance’s “only life is in the present... Performance occurs over a time which will not be repeated. It can be performed again, but this repletion marks it as ‘different’”. Again, Phelan enunciates; “performance honours the idea that a limited number of people in a specific time/space frame can have an experience of value which leaves no visible trace afterward” (1993: 149). Much as this theoretical proposition is sound, in my research methodology I tried to ‘retain’ the moments of *liveness* by taking notes. Some of my CCMS colleagues made video and shot still photographs (see Sætre & Reinhardt 2002), but these remain inadequate in exactly ‘replicating’ the original performances or encounters. The only theorisation that can only arise from such encounters and fieldwork that defies traditional social science research imperatives of validity and reliability, is full, albeit subjective description of such performances. This is method is perhaps what Clifford Geertz (1973) calls “thick description”. What results is obviously a set of multiple perspectives on a single ‘object’. Again what results is once more, a copy, or possibly multiple other previous copies depending on the resources that influences the supposed original act/visual (Baudrillard 1983; Taussig 1993).

My approach also has a hermeneutic dimension where I interpret what I observe in order to shed light on ordinary processes of understanding, but not on ‘systematic’ or ‘scientific’ procedures for collecting data and analyzing (Habermas 2001: 21). According to Jürgen Habermas (2001; 23) hermeneutics is concerned with meaningful expression. He explains;

Any meaningful expression – be it an utterance, verbal or nonverbal, or an artefact of any kind, such as a tool, an institution, or a written document – can be identified from a double perspective, both as an observable event and as an understandable objectification of meaning. We can describe, explain, or predict a noise equivalent to the sounds of a spoken sentence without having the slightest idea what this utterance means. To grasp (and state) its meaning, one has to participate in some (actual or imagined) communicative action in the course of which the sentence in question is used in such a way that it is intelligible to speakers, hearers, and bystanders belonging to the same speech community (Habermas 2001: 23-24).

Hermeneutics monitors the use of symbolic communication by participants trying to reach a common understanding or a shared view. The visual metaphor, according to Habermas, should not obscure the fact that language in its performative use is embedded in relationships and intentions correlated with it. When communicating something a communicator refers to an objective world but also to something in the social world, as well as to something else in his or her own world (Habermas 2001: 25).

In contrast to live performances I will use art and aesthetic theory to critique still visuals such as Vetkat Kruiper's paintings. These still visuals give the 'illusion' that they are static because they are 'arrested' within their medium of re-presentation. However I will 'activate' them by reading into them my subjective ideas, memories, and feelings. Aesthetic theory is not only interested in the form and content of works of art, but in the *affective* nature of the relationship between the art viewer and the object of art (Fischer 2005; Armstrong 1971). Semiotic theory alone cannot fully explain the full experiences of an art observer/critic which quite often are ephemeral, spiritual, momentary and magical. While I would have wanted to use aesthetic theory extensively and intensively on the performative visual cultures of the Zulu and the ≠Khomani involved in cultural tourism, I particularly use it to investigate and appreciate the artistic paintings by Vetkat Kruiper.

Having prescribed my theoretical perspectives, my next chapter is a presentation of the methods and methodology used in the enquiry of the cultural productions and performative acts associated with the cultural tourism experience. In Chapter Three I problematise Cultural Studies as a methodological approach as well as an institutionalised field of enquiry in which I chose to root my research and critical scholarship.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

This chapter explains and critiques the methods and methodology used to draw information from selected Bushman and Zulu participants involved in cultural tourism and related ethnographic productions. From the broader groups of Zulu and Bushmen I drew out particular groups of people as research informants and as case studies. Data sources and methods used in data acquisition are detailed and the form of presentation and analysis is discussed. Ethical issues and limitations of research design are also discussed.

Since my main concern is with the articulation of ethnic identity through performative and other cultural productions, with special focus on ‘ethnographic displays’ such as cultural villages, craft work and other artistic creations, my method of sampling would logically demand that I select subject communities directly related to these activities. However, in order to get an insight into the complexities of contemporary identities it would be pertinent to seek out some informants who are not directly participants in the exhibitive cultural production. Much as I had particular interest in the Zulu and Bushmen involved with cultural productions at cultural villages of one type or another, and those involved in art and crafts productions, I found it reasonable to contrast them with lifestyles of other people living in spaces and contexts outside commercial tourism induced ‘cultural villages’.

Context of Study of the Zulu and Zulu Cultural Villages

The contemporary Zulu cultural villages are largely found in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province although many proliferate throughout the industrial and commercial centres of South Africa such as Gauteng province. There is a clear proliferation of commercial Zulu cultural villages both in KZN and other provinces as confirmed in the studies (Jansen van Veuren 2000; Marschall 2003). For example, in my own studies I managed to visit two Zulu cultural villages outside KZN province, namely uPhumangeni uMuzi near Aloe Ridge Hotel in Gauteng, and Lesedi Cultural Experience in the same province.

In KZN I visited for both observation and ‘participant observation’ PheZulu Cultural Village in the Valley of a Thousand Hills area close to Durban, and Simunye and Shakaland (both

under the Protea group of companies) found around Eshowe, two hundred kilometres from Durban. The Zulu cultural villages showed both similarities and variations in utilising specific Zulu archetypical markers or stereotypical narratives and icons. The ventures involved varying levels of capital investment and exhibited different levels of skills expertise, size of cast, and size of architectural and other props.

Like with most visitors to cultural villages, I managed to visit the respective Zulu villages only once. I visited Simunye, Lesedi, Shakaland and PheZulu with members of the Culture, Communication and Media Studies (CCMS) research team during organised fieldtrips during which we participated in the tourism experience as any other 'tourists' present on the day. In fact, no special arrangements would be made for us in terms of interaction with other tourists. What distinguished us were perhaps special privileges to interview staff at particular villages where we would first have declared our intentions and sought permission to conduct research in the least distractive way possible for both the entrepreneurs, management and other tourists expending their income on leisure.

The first visit was to PheZulu during a day visit. Our research team comprised six postgraduate students drove to the Valley of a Thousand Hills in September 2001 for a two-hour Zulu cultural exhibition. Research funds were used to pay to watch the ethnographic performance, just as we would pay to nearly all Zulu cultural villages, with the exception of the uPhumangeni uMuzi which was paid for by the Southern African Communications for Development (SACOD) conference organisers in 2002. This was a cultural experience provided by the Aloe Ridge Hotel as part of their entertainment menu for delegates to the filmmakers' forum organised by SACOD. As compared to the Bushmen cultural villages, the Zulu enterprises are relatively capital intensive and are strategically located close to the main tourist routes and national highways. The Lesedi Cultural Experience owned by Protea Hotels and Tourvest (which also owns Shakaland and, at that time Simunye) is arguably the most capital intensive and most spectacular of all the villages. Lesedi's magnificence is possibly because it does not only focus on Zulu culture but showcases other cultures such as Xhosa, Pedi, Ndebele and Tswana. All these other ethnic showcases have their representative 'homestead' on location. The standard architectural structure is a bee-hive shaped hut. The floors at PheZulu were applied cow dung, but this varied at other villages since at Simunye our hut had a wax shined floor. The beehive huts are situated within a yard enclosed by a reed

fence. A cattle byre²⁴ is always positioned at the centre of the homestead, with the exception of PheZulu, which is the smallest of all the Zulu villages visited. Crafts and curio shops are a common feature at all these villages and these sell material with archetypical Zulu iconography. At PheZulu, Shakaland and Lesedi cultural villages crafts were sold in separate crafts and curio shops, but at Simunye the local community took the opportunity to sell their wares to visiting tourists in the open grounds of the village. With the exception of PheZulu, overnight accommodation and conferencing facilities for tourists are available. Some communities have coalesced at these villages made up of performers and their families. However, at PheZulu there is no residential home for cultural workers who commute to their homes everyday in the adjacent valley.

While my research was precisely on cultural productions and performative exhibitions by Zulu and Bushman cultural ‘artists’ between 2002 and 2007, I ought to immediately state that I interacted with Zulu speaking students and other professionals both within my research team and outside. Living in urban Durban I was privileged to meet the cosmopolitan Zulu, especially young adults at the university. However, I also had a trip to Inanda a peri-urban settlement outside Durban where a community was trying to start a cultural tourism venture, more on the scale and design of so-called ‘township’ tourism in which tourists visit actual homes of people and share experiences in what are ordinarily the ‘back regions’ of ordinary families.

Methodological Structure of Study

My research focuses on cultural nodes or archetypical objects of tourism that are symbolic expressions of ethnic cultural identity. The research methodology was mainly qualitative and derived from Cultural Studies but markedly multidisciplinary. Ethnography is a core influence on the research due to its three key ethnographic principles: i) the centrality of the concept of culture; ii) the restricted use of some form of ‘participant observation’ as a research method (being there to observe and act as an “anthro-tourist”); and iii) the demarcation of a manageable research setting (sample) (Jankowski & Wester 1991: 54-55). This study does not precisely qualify as ‘anthropological’ or ‘ethnographic’ due to two crucial reasons. Firstly, I did not fully satisfy the requirement of long-term participant-

²⁴ A byre is the enclosure where cattle sleep over and milking is also conducted when herds are not in the fields. It is also called a kraal.

observation *in situ*. Uninterrupted time spent doing participant observation is arguably the mainstay of ethnographic methodology. Secondly, my research is founded in Cultural Studies traditions in an institutional sense, that is to say the organisational structure within which I did my research consciously defines itself that way. Immanuel Wallerstein (1999) has aptly written about the fictional nature of separating disciplines, but maintains that their organisational and institutional structures and the rules and regulations and codes of operation within specified disciplinarian boundaries are a fact of reality. This means, my first ‘lack’ which denies me the identity of ethnographic researcher might be a function of the second definitional premise. I did not spend enough time in the field as would be demanded and made mandatory by other scholarly networks that subscribe to the ‘pure’ anthropological or ethnographic identity. My study of the Bushmen and Zulu was based on short-term and irregular visits to sites of cultural tourism, mainly cultural villages and the Kalahari Desert. My practices extend Cultural Studies research paradigms by borrowing useful ethnographic techniques such as doing fieldwork, observing and making notes, rather than merely confining myself to library, archival and desk-top research.²⁵

The amorphous boundaries and loose ambiguous identity of Cultural Studies is acknowledged, and perhaps therein lies its strength in the quest for understanding, and a scientific approach which is not rote scientism. Cultural Studies is typified by its lack of clear-cut boundaries and disciplinary certainty that suggests a ‘field of enquiry’ rather than a fixed and stable discipline. While Cultural Studies lack the definitive forms of a discipline as such, it is however recognisable in practice and as documented records, hence its existence is indisputable, thereby availing itself as a teachable and assessable field of study (Gray 2003: 3, 11). Larry Grossberg (1996) is on record for stating the dilemma of the identity of Cultural Studies, which ironically, for me, might be its current and long-term strength and driving impetus. “Those of us working in “cultural studies” find ourselves caught between the need to define and defend its specificity and the desire to refuse to close off the ongoing history of cultural studies by any such act of definition” (see Gray 2004: 3). Simon During (1993: 1) notes the ambiguity as follows:

²⁵ As I will always point out in relation to my research limitations, the costs of visiting cultural sites I chose to work on could be very prohibitive. Visiting Shakaland alone is tantamount to visiting a luxury hotel and services and all experiences are paid for. This makes a ‘long-term’ participant observation exorbitant. Fieldwork was also not necessarily continuous as students registered with CCMS were required to complete course work during the term. Many of the students were also employed as tutors in the CCMS.

Cultural studies is not an academic discipline quite like others...Cultural studies is, of course, the study of culture, or, more particularly, the study of *contemporary culture*. But this does not take us very far. Even assuming that we know precisely what contemporary culture, it can be analysed in many ways – sociologically, for instance, by ‘objectively’ describing its institutions and functions as if they belong to a large, regulated system; or economically, by describing the effects of investment and marketing on cultural production. More traditionally, it can be studied ‘critically’ by celebrating either large forms (like literature) or specific texts and images (like *Waiting for Godot* or an episode of *Cheers*). The question remains: does cultural studies bring its own orientation to these established forms of analysis?

Therefore, what can variously be described as ‘Cultural Studies’ will take on different contours and raise specific topics, issues and questions in different locations, which in turn, will be shaped by intellectual paradigms as well as national cultural contexts. Indeed, the debates and discussions that inform the different manifestations of Cultural Studies produce different aspects of culture (Gray 2003, 11). Cultural Studies entails a ‘methodological eclecticism’ of the ‘critique of everyday life’ and “an investigation of particular ways of using “culture”, of what is available as culture to people inhabiting particular social contexts, and of people’s ways of making culture” (Morris 1997: 43). The ‘materiality of culture’ is an integral element in understanding the notion of culture since culture is not just

a set of free-floating ideas or beliefs, nor is it exemplified only by a canon of great works of art or literature. The meanings, processes and artefacts of culture are produced, distributed and consumed within particular material circumstances. In other words, texts and practices are both products of and constitutive of the social world. This is made up of a whole range of organisations, from, for example, institutions of the media and other cultural producers, the family, education and various agencies of civil society to everyday practices within specific social groups. Therefore any attempt to understand culture and cultural processes must take account of this always complex set of material conditions (Gray 2003: 12).

Since culture is actively produced through complex processes, the production of meaning, or ‘signifying practice’ happens at every social level and every moment within the cultural process itself. People in different contexts and nationalities make culture for certain reasons and purposes as they live through their everyday lives. Culture then is implicated in the shaping of social relations and in instigating or resisting social transformation. Thus writes Gray (2003: 12):

In order to begin to investigate these complex set of relationships which are present in cultural processes we require a variety of methods ranging from textual analysis, observation, different ways of gathering knowledge and information from individuals and groups, such as diaries, different kinds of interviews and participant observation.

Since “lived experience” is a paramount element of Cultural Studies research, ‘texts’ include written texts, such as literature, the press, but also orature (oral stories), music and radio, and visual texts, such as film, photography, advertising, and all other kinds of symbolic artefacts and phenomenon (Gray 2003). Nonetheless, whatever ‘texts’ are put under study or enquiry should supplement and complement actual lived experience, that is to say there must be a relationship between the text and its social context, as well as how readers interpret the text.

In the true fashion and tradition of earlier Cultural Studies, concern and interest (as well in this case empathy) for the less powerful has been afforded priority. The researchers are strategically trying to give a voice to the historically marginalised or at least to legitimise in academia the everyday understandings and passions of ordinary people (Gray 2003: 51). However, voices of important and relatively powerful groups that include cultural producers, policy-makers, consumers of middle class or so called ‘high culture’, who are intricately related to the practices of ordinary people would need to be also given a voice. Many Zulu and Bushmen were discriminated against during apartheid and colonial rule, and they still make up a large number of the lumpen-proletarians. The dialogical relations between interest groups, with an emphasis on the marginalised and the powerless, is what the research will endeavour to identify. The epistemological questions to be answered by this research are largely those pertaining to how we know what we know and the relationship between the knower and the known, accepting that “there is no such thing as a disinterested knower” (Gray 2003: 2; Skeggs 1997: 27).

We are not always able to tell when we are being strung a line. We do not always know when we are being duped or sent on a wild goose chase, although our encounters usually entail some form of monetary or gift exchange, beside the intrinsic social exchange arising from us meeting our host communities as respective human individuals. Some of the stories we are told openly attempt to extract sympathy and cash from us. Notwithstanding, our research group is content with the self-created and motivated belief that we are in the process of

constructing narratives of representation so that what our hosts want (or will permit) goes on the record. Team leader Keyan Tomaselli is not comfortable calling what we are doing “oral history”, but welcomes that “we are producing something of a transcribed record, writing the ≠Khomani and the Ngwatle communities into history without eliminating their personalities and names (as occurs often in other productions)” (Tomaselli 2007: 50). The Bushmen and Zulu ethnographic displays and performances, and associated artefacts associated, become objects of tourism and of ethnography. These are tautologically described as follows:

Ethnographic artefacts are objects of ethnography. They are artefacts created by ethnographers. Such objects become ethnographic by virtue of being defined...by ethnographers...for disciplines make their objects and in the process make themselves” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 17).

I put emphasis on my approach as emanating from Cultural Studies largely because of the intellectual, organisational and cultural structures within which I produce my work. I tend to agree with Immanuel Wallerstein (1999: 220) that there is need to create a culture not of a limited discipline of study, but that of “social science, and (most importantly) one that is located within an epistemological reunified world of knowledge”. Epistemological boundaries are arbitrary, but the empirical realities are such that in practice there is a blurring between disciplinarian boundaries. The blurring has become so extensive and anachronistic that it is no longer possible to defend disciplinarian names such as “ethnography, anthropology, sociology, history, and so on. Hence the various disciplines of the social sciences have ceased to be disciplines, because they no longer represent obviously different fields of study with different methods and therefore with firm, distinctive boundaries” (Wallerstein 1999: 221-222). He writes:

For the various disciplines have long since been institutionalized as corporate organizations, in the form of university departments, programs of instruction, degrees, scholarly journals, national and international associations, and even library classifications. The institutionalization of a discipline is a way of preserving and reproducing practice. It represents the creation of an actual human network with boundaries, a network that takes the form of corporate structures that have entrance requirements and codes providing for recognized paths of upward career mobility. Scholarly organizations seek to discipline not the intellect but the practice. They create boundaries that are far firmer than those created by

disciplines as intellectual constructs, and they can outlast the theoretical justification for their corporate limits (Wallerstein 1999: 222).

Alain Badiou (2005: 62) also observes the necessity and importance of “a collective organisation of knowledge” for different disciplines and the significance of disciplinary associations. While I too find myself in a very anomalous situation, accepting that no discipline is worth its definition, I however try to perpetuate the culture of Cultural Studies firstly because by virtue of it being amorphous it acknowledges the crisis of disciplinary identity to which I am referring. I would, secondly, want to subscribe to the field of Cultural Studies as “a culture of scholarship” and “a culture of enquiry” that is, a community of scholars who share certain premises. In Cultural Studies the centrality of notions or concepts of “culture” and “identity” is indisputable. The ‘text’ in its different genres or forms is significant in the exposition and critique of notions predicated upon culture and identity. The processes involving the production, reproduction, and distribution and reception of the cultural text is critically investigated so that the composite readings and meanings derived from any single text are thoroughly understood (Grossberg 1996; Hall 1996; Ruby 2000). The text is the thing to be studied as a means of gaining some particular or general knowledge of the world. The text can be observed human actions, filmic productions, artefacts, paintings, music, literature, and ethnographic presentations.

People can be themselves the medium of ethnographic representation, when they perform themselves, whether at home, to tourists or at world fairs or folk-life festivals - when they become living signs of themselves. The object of ethnography is not always tangible or detachable from its context. At times the ephemeral experience of ethnographic objects by tourists and researchers is what is important. These include ethnographic representations such as performances, kinship, worldviews, cosmology, values and attitudes, storytelling, ritual, dance and speech which are not collectible or removable from place of origin in the strictest physical sense. Nonetheless, the ephemeral are still inscribed in field notes, recordings, photographs, films, or drawings. In so doing ethnographic documents are created (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 30). The objects of ethnography are then labelled and given “an intelligent train of thought”, explained and evaluated by means of analytical and critical theories interrelated to the methods of gathering or collecting the objects; in short the objects of ethnography are textualised preferably through the written medium.

Some ‘objects’ of ethnography gain prominence at certain times and in specific spheres such as politics and the cultural tourism industry. I have chosen some cultural ‘markers’ pertaining to the Zulu and the Bushmen ‘culture’ because of their relative ubiquity and visibility in the tourism industry. These prominent archetypical symbolic presentations are: i) commercial cultural villages and ethnographic performances in situated spaces and the corresponding narratives associated with these; and ii) craftwork and Bushmen paintings, the narratives surrounding them and their implications for cultural identity vis-a-vis the tourism industry.

My object is to trace how these symbolic nodes are important in the process of the creation, re-creation and negotiation of ethnic identities. I wish to explore to what extent cultural tourism and market imperatives are implicated in the formation, re-invention and negotiation of Zulu and Bushmen ethnic identities. My methodology has some peripheral influences of ethnography in so far as I aspire for a “disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of human events” (Willis & Trondman 2000: 5). I am aware that my writing on the various “cultural markers” is only a way of “writing” and making culture rather than discovering or reflecting it (Clifford & Marcus 1986; Willis & Trondman 2000). The centrality of culture in my research is not

narrowly understood in a textual or discursive kind of way but in the broad sense of the increasing imperative for all social groups to find and make their own roots, routes and ‘lived’ meanings in societies undergoing profound processes of re-structuring and de-traditionalization, processes which are eroding the certainties of previous transitions and inherited cultures, as well as inciting them to re-establish themselves in new forms (Willis & Trondman 2000: 8).

The New South Africa has gone through phenomenal change since the collapse of apartheid in the early 1990s. Individuals and ethnic groups are renegotiating their identities and re-strategising their positions in order to belong to the new political and cultural realities (Carton & Draper 2008; Carton, Laband & Sithole 2008; Delport 2006; Haupt 2006; Segalo 2006; Tomaselli *et al* 2007). Ethnic identity within the nation state features as a site of struggle, and narratives associated with identity become projects of enquiry (Buthelezi 2008; Zegeye 2001). In the past Bushman identity was suppressed and its adherents developed discreet survival strategies (Prins 2000). The Zulu, in contrast, were associated with a ferocious

martial comportment but, at least in cultural tourism they are now 'recuperating' their image as hospitable and friendly (Hamilton 1998).

Based on my fieldwork and visits to cultural tourism sites, I create a "matrix" (Ness 2003) involving a specific cultural node (marker), its signification and use in the tourism industry, and the implication for cultural identity. These nodes, people included (especially cultural performers), would not mean anything in themselves were it not for the narratives wound around them by both hosts and their visitors. Tourist publicity in the form of brochures, coffee table books, magazines, travelogues, and other forms of media, as well as interpersonal communication, facilitate the creation of narratives that make claims of certain forms of identity. I consider hosts to be producers of performances, monuments and artefacts. Their visitors are consumers of narratives and artworks. However, the existential experience of host and visitor is much more complex and there is a symbiotic process that ultimately involves both host and visitor in the processes of 'production' and 'consumption' (Smith 1989).

Theories and research methodologies used here have a close relationship in which one informs the other. But theories and methodological approaches in the social sciences have elements of subjectivity on the part of the researcher in spite of the rigorous attempts by practitioners to have valid and reliable findings grounded on empirical evidence and claiming some level of scientific objectivity. Social science theories and methodologies are uniquely subjective and personalised experiences, and this explains in part why different fieldworkers give different accounts of the same society. Social research is difficult to replicate. Anthropologists may return a generation after their initial fieldwork to the "same" society, but will never experience the same society as they did before since both researchers and societies do change (Cheater 1986: 24).

Cultural Studies is intricately a textual enterprise. Since writing is at the centre of the Cultural Studies enterprise, it is, therefore vital that a disciplined approach to Cultural Studies work should incorporate a critical awareness of writing itself. As Hammersley and Atkinson say:

The world does not arrange itself into chapters and subheadings for our convenience. There are many contrasting arrangements and 'literary' styles that we can impose, more or less legitimately, on the world. The author who fails to reflect on the processes of composition and

compilation may find that a version has been constructed without adequate explicit understanding. The unthinking adoption of one or another textual arrangement is an abdication of control over one's material. Equally, the experience of writing – or at least considering – alternative versions or using different written styles can encourage greater mastery. Principled decisions about *how* to write are far better than drowning in a welter of data, or facing the paralysis of writer's block while waiting for inspiration to strike (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 240-241).

In this vein, I declare that the adoption of a performative writing style, which in parts appears literary and almost 'fictional', is a conscious and deliberate act. Some have called this style "creative non-fiction" (Denzin & Lincoln 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; Causey 2003). I adopt the 'fictional' or "creative non-fictional" style not only to make the presentation stylistic and readable, but also to acknowledge emerging serious academic scholarship which while it remains rigorous, is much more eclectic (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995; Lange 2007; Moxey 2008). While my approach partly adopts the literary style it is not 'fictional' per se. There are many genres through which authors explore and express social worlds. The domain of fiction and non-fiction alike provide many sources for written representations. There is nothing which totally distinguishes fictional from non-fictional writing. There are differences, of course: non-fictional writing is committed to the accurate representation of some actual events, or the representation of an abstract model that captures the essential features of the phenomena in question (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 241).

Theorising my performative writing style within CCMS traditions

The research led by Tomaselli focuses on how local communities and commercial ventures articulate their identities and 'authenticity' in terms of market and tourist expectations, and discourses (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2007). We observe trends ranging from our own relations with the subject of research, how these people seize formal and informal job and income opportunities, the creation of strategic survival techniques and opportunities, through to the roots, manifestations and regeneration of dependency and alcoholism (McLennan-Dodd 2007; Tomaselli 2005; 2006; 2007; Tomaselli *et al* 2008; Tomaselli & Shepperson 2003). Due to the complexities of the kind of research and the multi-disciplinary approach and nature required therewith, we are found in need of cultural negotiation in which indigenous practices and knowledge are packaged, re-presented, and interpreted in ways which make sense to researchers and visitors on one hand, and to the host communities, artists and

performers on the other. With regards to the Bushmen communities in the Kalahari, there are dominant media generated images that have been circulated over and over again via film, video, curios, postcards, brochures and coffee-table books as exotica and as spectacle (Buntman 1996a; 1996b). However, more and more contemporary popular media, including the cultural tourism marketing media, is beginning at times to be reflexive and show present-day Bushmen are living in time and space with everyone else and are not exactly fossil-like - physically and intellectually - remnants of the past. Twentieth century writers and filmmakers leverage the Bushman myth of a people still totally untouched to this day by globalisation (Marshall Thomas 1959; Marshall & Gardner 1958; Van der Post 1958).²⁶ Much as the perceptive transformations are acknowledged, it remains true that quite often the popular media and the popular imagination continue to 'primitivise' the Bushman in various ways, although the complexities and paradoxes of their present day lives are now acknowledged (Le Roux & White 2004; Tomaselli 2003).

CCMS's eclectic approach in academic writing styles is evident especially by the Special Issue of *Current Writing* (2003). This study enacts the processual coming-into-being of written ethnographic documentary in contemporary south(ern) Africa (Laden 2003: 6). The stylistic features of the narratives from CCMS "(may) well herald a new form of contemporary South African documentary" (Laden 2003)²⁷. Sonja Laden notes that Tomaselli's own earlier writings are autobiographically nuanced, such as the preface to *Appropriating Images* (1996), and in "Blue is Hot, Red is Cold" (2001) and "*Dis is die Here se Asem*: The Wind, Its messages and issues of Auto-ethnographic methodology in the Kalahari" (2003). Tomaselli's influence on his students at CCMS is undoubtable, yet these colleagues' own stylistic attributes must be acknowledged. Laden (2003: 7) clarifies on the CCMS stylistics:

²⁶ These key earlier proponents of the idyllic myth Laurens van der Post (1988), John Marshall (1993) and Elizabeth Marshall Thomas did revise their perceptions later, adding notable epilogues to earlier editions of particular myth producing books, at least only to acknowledge that things changed. In fact, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (1988:238) has since written unequivocally in her latest edition of *The Harmless People*, "Bushman no longer live as hunter-gatherers...The concept of Bushmen in a far-away Eden, pleasant as we may find it, is simply and perniciously untrue".

²⁷ Aspects of this new prose in South Africa can be traced to specific 'non-fictional' novels such as Eskia Mphahlele's *Down second Avenue*, the *Drum* generation short story writers – Can Themba, Nat Nakasa and Casey Motsiti amongst others – "who valorised 'criminals' and tackled issues of surviving crime way back in South Africa of the 1950s!!". Tomaselli's prose in particular has been dubbed "a post-apartheid mode of New Journalism", as it simultaneously revives and transforms the mode of Tom Wolf's New Journalism of the 1960s (Laden 2003: 7).

This kind of writing resorts to devices intended to “show” rather than simply “tell” a story: scene-by-scene constructions rather than large chunks of narrative, extensive use of dialogue, third person point of view, and extensive descriptions recording everyday routines, styles and gestures. (This) revived mode of ‘realistic’ New journalism indeed uses scene-by-scene frameworks, presents extensive descriptions of everyday situations and anomalies, and deploys multiple narrative digressions intended to evoke critical response from the reader. At the same time it often resorts to free direct speech rather than dialogue, frequently using auto-ethnographic point of view – suggesting a more personalised mode of shared ethnographic documentation.

While stylistic ingenuity is credited to Tomaselli as team leader, the style had been evolving steadily in the writings of his students starting notably with McLennan-Dodd (2003) and Kyle Enevoldsen (2004), amongst others.

One presentation in particular is an article co-authored by Belinda Kruiper, Mary Lange and Charlize Tomaselli titled “Meeting Points: Symbiotic Spaces” (Lange *et al* 2003: 72). It is a conversational essay in which the three authors contribute their perspectives in alternating but quite idiosyncratic ways but still managing to achieve a work of semantic rhythm, a theoretically resolved and engaging production. The piece symbolises CCMS presentational academic stylistic avant-gardism at its best, and it invites further experimentation from other researchers and writers from the CCMS stable. Actually, CCMS acknowledges that this particular article “takes us one step closer to performative writing than other articles written within our project” (Tomaselli 2008: 366). Not only does it comment on a piece of performance ethnography encountered in the field, but the personal reflections of each character/author along with photos and diagrams culminate to create a performance on the pages” (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 366).

Yet another adventurous piece of writing is Mauritian Moslem student Nasseema Taleb’s diarised and theorised experiences in the piece entitled “A letter to myself – my trip to Ngwatle” (Taleb 2007: 59). Nonetheless, stylistic execution should not obscure the ideals of Cultural Studies which are by necessity and radical design emancipatory (Shepperson & Tomaselli 2004: 257-268). Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll and Michael Francis (2008) explain the

exact style of presentation of a CCMS academic production. Tomaselli writes in another co-authored epistemological production:

The kind of writing encouraged by our project...aims to “show” rather than simply “tell” a story: scene-by-scene constructions rather than large and dense chunks of narrative, extensive use of dialogue, and third person point of view. The writing presents extensive descriptions of everyday situations and anomalies and deploys multiple narrative digressions intended to evoke critical response from readers. At the same time, it often resorts to free indirect speech rather than dialogue, frequently using autoethnographic points of view, suggesting a more personalized mode of ethnographic documentation (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 352).

Like in all postmodern writings and theoretical formulations Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis are ambiguous about exactly what is the most ideal style of scholarly writing for the CCMS researchers. Firstly, how does one simply “show” rather than simply “tell”? Is this not some clever elaborate show of fastidiousness when the ultimate aim is articulation and theorisation of product and the exposition of methodology in order to explain the purpose and vision, all within an acceptable moral framework of execution? There is apparent discomfort with “extensive use of dialogue” and “dialogue”, yet at the same time the same stylistic qualities lends the same writings its “scene-by-scene” character and flavour.

My contention is that all scholarly writings are ‘creative’ productions that also aspire for the same aesthetic integrity and fluidity that other non-scholarly works aspire to. The scholarly works aspire to ‘readability’ and accessibility, at least to certain sections of people even when they might appear esoteric and discipline specific. In this vein, in Chapter Five I therefore make a performative and creative presentation of my encounter with Silikat van Wyk, one of our #Khomani hosts, in which some of the ‘unscholarly’ vices noted by Tomaselli will unfortunately feature. I am a ‘fiction’ writer, and dialogue, though not for its own sake, appeals to me. Certain detailed expression of sensations makes me feel wholesome and ‘dry’ academic writing often imposes a straitjacket on my artistic inclinations. In order not to be overly unconventional and to rock the boat, I will theorise as I go along, making relevant digressions where necessary, and also making citations and referencing befitting ‘serious’ scholarly work.

Performative writing is a heavily contested concept and practice. It accomplishes and invokes many things that traditional or formal writing sometimes hinders (Viramontes 2008: 337). It conveys lived experience using “unique language which depicts a way of thinking or moving through the world” (Carilli 1998: 234). Performative writing invokes conflicts, situations, and conditions that show the ways in which some communicative events within our lived experience are complicated, complex, and nuanced. Illuminating these situations through performative writing enables the production of details that can be crafted into symbols and metaphors, which describe personal experience while providing a general understanding of the text as a whole. It is an evocative practice as much as it is an interpretive art form.

Engaging in performative or creative writing made it possible for me to problematise my identity as a black Zimbabwean researcher in South Africa. In other words, performative writing helped me to dramatise and understand the dynamics in relations with specific individuals I encountered in the Kalahari. Through a process of writing, rewriting, embodying, and performing my experiences, I slowly became aware of the particular familial, cultural, social, political, and economic matrix within which I was situated, and I began to understand how these forces shaped and influenced my identity or lack thereof. The function of performative or creative writing is constructive, and language is used to build structures of meaning (Heidegger 1971). According to Adrienne Viramontes (2008: 338):

a performative or creative text is a manifestation of building and dwelling inasmuch as a text is constructed through a process of writing, which involves putting material and experiential parts together to form a cohesive literary structure. Throughout one's creative process, a personal narrative emerges and cultivation ensues as the narrative is shared with a variety of small audiences who provide feedback about its cohesiveness, readability, clarity, and whether it makes sense.

Rewrites are a regular occurrence. It is through these rewrites that one begins to experience what Hans-Georg Gadamer (2002: 128) described as “aesthetic distance...the distance necessary for seeing and thus makes possible a genuine and comprehensive participation in what is presented before us”. What Viramontes (2008) calls “aesthetic distancing” enables me as the author to critically alienate myself from my own work, and ensure it is a literary product that withstands certain academic and aesthetic qualifications in its own right, while still acknowledging it is a product of my exertions. What was once purely subjective is

transformed through the repetitive process of writing, rewriting, reading, re-reading, referencing, cross-referencing, and footnoting for the purposes of credible verification; hence it develops into a work that can be viewed and interpreted as an object.

Where conventional social science writing eliminates the observers and often the observed as well from its analyses, our narratives attempt to write all participants into the encounter – and their observations and often their dialogue and their subjectivities – into the various story (or stories) being told, Campfire research, disseminations, and interactions (including songs, music, mime (sic) and dance, talk and banter, open-ended interviews, anecdotes, complaints and criticism, video between researchers and subjects on the project's prepublished work have resulted in an extraordinary process of civil, participatory collaboration that joins the researcher with the researched in an ongoing moral dialogue (Tomaselli 2003: Tomaselli *et al* 2008; see also Denzin & Lincoln 2000: ix). My own presentation of findings relies on cross-referencing and intertextuality (a deliberate mixture of genres), as well as performative writing with the full awareness this is a constructed product.

Objectivity and social science research

This study avoids a pedantic or pure science conception of objectivity where research findings derive more from the data than from the researcher's interpretation. Knowledge obtained from the external world does not exist independently from the research process; hence, levels of bias need to be exposed in the research process through reflexivity. Instead, of concentrating on the futile exercise of trying to be objective in the social sciences, Jay Ruby suggests that researchers make a systematic revelation of the methods they used. For him, social scientists at large “have a social obligation *not* to be objective”, since this is a concept inappropriately borrowed from the natural sciences but that has little support in the social sciences (Ruby 1977: 3; Ruby 2000). Reflexivity, therefore, draws attention to the researcher as part of the world being studied and the ways in which the research process constitutes what it investigates. It considers the identity of the researcher and the relationship between researchers and researched, which is seldom one of equals (Taylor 1994: 25-73).

Objectivity is chimerical because people's (researchers') perceptions and interpretations are inevitably selective and shaped by the understandings they bring to any situation. People are always entangled in a second-hand world/web of meanings and have no direct access to

reality and always experience the world through a mediated framework of symbols and cultural meanings (Baudrillard 1983; Geertz 1973; Taussig 1993).

Reflexivity is ubiquitous as it permeates every aspect of the research process, challenging researchers and ethnographers to be more conscious of the ideology, culture, gender, and politics of those we study, and those we select as our informants whilst we are also critically aware of our individual “self” or “selves” we bring to the research situation. Researchers are active participants in the research process, hence it is important to understand the researcher’s location and status within the research process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 16). Reflexivity implies a shift in our understanding of data and its collection; it is accomplished through the researcher’s own ‘detachment’, internal dialogue, and constant intensive scrutiny of what the researcher knows and how s/he has come to know it. According to Rosanna Hertz (1997: viii):

To be reflexive is to have an ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment. By extension, the ethnographer does not simply report “facts” or “truths” but actively constructs interpretations of his or her experiences in the field and then questions how those experiences came about.

I employ reflexivity especially through the act of performative writing (Lange 2003; 2007; Viramontes 2008). I reflect and critique and converse with my subject/informants as well as objects of ethnography such as photographs, video recording and artistic painting. This I do ‘creatively’ - conscious that I am constructing both an academic document and a cultural product with style and form.

My research was a combination of individual and group effort because I was embedded in a research team and scholarly community at CCMS. It is pertinent to reveal the nature of our research and data gathering processes, as well as our collective critiquing and group-reflexivity. The research teams were multicultural, multiracial and cut across gender, age, class and nationality. These research teams were, however, composed of different individual researchers at any given one excursion due to various reasons²⁸.

²⁸ The main reason for the fluctuation or changing membership is related to the enrolment and completion of studies by post-graduate students at CCMS. I joined when ‘older’ members such as Vanessa McLennan-Dodd and Linje Manyozo were still students. There were, however, others before them. By the time I embarked on my

Fieldwork and CCMS Research Methodology

Fieldwork is probably the most important determinant of empirical research (Amit 2000: 1). One has to be physically present in the field, whilst “long-distance” methods of research and communication are dismissed as inappropriate. Fieldwork must be experienced as performed rather than just communicated in dialogue (Amit 2001: 1). Many authoritative ethnographers insist on a period of not less than one year doing fieldwork amongst the selected community. CCMS research methods and methodology is premised on visiting actual sites where subjects of study live, that is “being there”, but the periods of individual research often do not extend beyond two weeks, although re-visits occur (Boloka 2001; Dyll 2007; Tomaselli 2005; 2007). The texts produced tend to be full, nuanced, and non-reductive, incorporating change and process. Writing about the phenomenon of CCMS fieldwork and how graduate students respond to it, Tomaselli (2005; 136) notes:

Students participating in field trips, whose academic growth was often previously confined within a discipline of detached textualism and theoretical hegemonies...discovered that the Text is indeed a prison-house of language. The immediacy of their interactions, the depth of their intercultural encounters, and the empathy which develops from their being touched by the experience, fundamentally changes not only their perception of who and what was previously the Other, but also of the way that textualism insists on the binary relationship of researcher and researched. Systematically delving beyond the text also locates students integrally as participants in the encounter, inexorably within the community and system of relations being studied...These students often come to realize that as necessary as abstraction is, that it can also be endistancing/alienating/reifying, if not for themselves, then most certainly for their subjects/hosts/collaborators, who constantly complain that they are unable to recognize themselves, their experiences and conditions in writing by academics and journalists who claim to be studying them.

Tomaselli has aptly captured the ambiguities and realisations I went through in visiting the Zulu and Bushmen both at cultural villages and other settings. I am also particularly sensitive to my style of presentation so that when my work is eventually delivered to my research

last trip ‘newer’ members like Kamini Moodley had joined. I therefore was privileged to interact with a diverse group of co-researchers focusing on different aspects of our cultural encounters with both the Zulu and the Bushmen. For a comprehensive list of students and researchers who have been involved in the Kalahari research and Zulu cultural village tourism please see Tomaselli (2005: 13-16). However, this list is not exhaustive, since the research is ongoing and newer researchers and affiliates join, whilst others leave.

communities my intentions and language would be at least understandable and not be outright esoteric.

Finally, as CCMS researchers we consciously locate our work within the cross-currents of ongoing debates about ethnography and qualitative research, both amongst ourselves in CCMS and with other relevant scholarly groups currently making cultural studies and ethnographic research enquiries (Denzin 2001; Tomaselli 2007).

The individual CCMS researchers rely on each other and cross-fertilised each other's perceptions and methodologies. The documentaries made by Marit Sætre and Tim Reinhardt (2002) and Linje Manyozo (2002) for instance assisted in the optical/tactile objectification of fieldwork in which I was both present and absent. The writings by CCMS researchers and affiliates became a 'template' on which I could read and cross-examine my own observations. A scholarly writing tradition in many ways uniquely CCMS could be ascertained and into which my own writing style and form is traceable (Dyll 2004; Lange 2003; McLennan-Dodd 2003; 2007; Tomaselli *et al* 2008).

An important methodological technique characteristic to the CCMS team approach was the post fieldwork discussion and assessment. This is a group discussion by team members after an excursion, and it normally happened during the fieldtrip whilst ideas and memories were still very current and vivid. Otherwise, these discussions are a common feature of CCMS fieldwork and they are often audio recorded and transcribed. The post participant-observation discussions were quite reflexive in that they were conducted when researchers were grappling with theoretical premises they would have earlier encountered before embarking on trips. The team reads relevant social science and ethnographic critical literature, as well as watches ethnographic movies, before it goes on major research fieldtrips. The encounters with subjects of research become opportunities to 'instantaneously' reflect and brainstorm.²⁹ In spite of our numerous differences as individual researchers, we easily influenced each other's perceptions and interpretations through the post-participant observation discussions, critiques and through the resultant written projects.

²⁹ The brainstorming could take place in the vehicle as we drove from scenes of encounters or they were 'formally' held at the site where we were lodging during the outing.

My research team relied on participant observation and “being there” so that we could theorise and make conclusions based upon concrete evidence drawn from host communities. Except for the visit to PheZulu where we went and returned to Durban (our research base) within a day, almost all the other excursions stretched from two nights to three weeks. At the cultural tourism sites we visited we acted as tourists, paying for our upkeep and buying artefacts and crafts.

The Reflexive Interview and the Written Research Text

Alongside observation, interviews were used to extract information. The interviews were either structured or unstructured, but the CCMS group developed a type of reflexive discursive interview. Researchers interview informants as a group. It would best be equated to the focus group discussion, only that there will be a number of researchers participating. For instance, five researchers from my research simultaneously team interviewed Andre Coetzee (the owner), Danie Jacobs (the manager) or the Bushmen at OstriSan. The five ‘researchers’ had different intentions. For example this group included Elana Bregin a journalist and research affiliate interested in writing an article for the popular press about the Bushmen. In my write up I have tried to use the interview material creatively, at times providing it as material to create the mood, atmosphere and provide the dialogic evidence.

Since the interview is a crucial tool for gathering information I concur with Norman Denzin who suggests that modern society has amongst other things become “an interview society” (2001: 23). In an interview society, the interview is used creatively, and is part of story-telling. The interview’s meanings are largely contextual, improvised and performative both when it is used at the site of the interview and when it is incorporated into the write up text (Dillard 1982: 32). The constructedness and arbitrariness of interviews is eruditely captured by Denzin (2001: 25-26):

The interview is an active text, a site where meaning is created and performed. When performed, the interview text creates the world, giving the world its situated meaningfulness. From this perspective, the interview is a fabrication, a construction, a fiction, an ‘ordering or rearrangement of selected material from the actual world’. But every interview text selectively and systematically reconstructs that world, tells and performs a story accordingly to its own version of narrative logic. We inhabit a performance-based, dramaturgical culture. The dividing line between performer and audience blurs, and culture itself becomes a

dramatic performance...Performance interviews are situated in complex systems of discourse, where traditional, everyday and avant-garde meanings of theatre, film, video, ethnography, cinema, performance, text and audience come together and inform one another. The meanings of lived experience are inscribed and made visible in these performances.

In the questions posed to guides and other people at cultural villages there was a sense in which the questioning was part of the 'ethnographic experience'. In fact, some of these tours were predicated on the ability to ask questions about the Other from 'reliable' tour guides who mediated the cultural experience. For example, at PheZulu Cultural Village the tour guide seemed animated when visitors showed interest and started asking questions (see Enevoldsen 2003). The performative interview (Denzin 2001), which is largely reflexive, is also quite important in understanding the nature of my encounter with Silikat van Wyk alone in the Kalahari. This is an instant when I was not in a research team, as I had been dropped off by my co-researchers as they proceeded to the newly established !Xaus Lodge in the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) (for further information see Dyll 2009). The encounter and interview experience was dramatic and performative, at times blurring in a post-modern way the boundaries between researcher and researched and redefining ontological spaces. I therefore particularly recreated this encounter and present it in Chapter Five. Then the encounter gathers form and shape through the process of performative writing, in which my encounter is activated, dramatised and dialogic. Since interviews are performance texts both the interviewer and interviewee enact cultural meanings within a context where culture and society are dramaturgical productions. My use of extracts of interviews in this study is deliberate, poetic and creative in the quest to present an enthralling, but however logical critical narrative that still subscribes to academic forms and cross-referencing.

Ethnographic texts are artful and selective constructions with similar features to fiction. All these texts' claims to reality are not necessarily due to their having a special relation to any reality, but rather are characterised by a certain style that is accepted as realistic. According to John van Maanen (1988: 3):

Broadly conceived, ethnography is a storytelling institution. It is one that carries a great deal of cultural legitimacy because its stories are commissioned and approved by the leading scientific and educational organizations of the day. Ethnography claims and is granted by many if not most of its readers a kind of documentary status on the basis that someone

actually goes “out there”, draws to people and events, and then writes about what was learned in situ. It is, by and large, the ethnographer’s direct personal contact with others that is honoured by readers as providing a particularly sound basis for reliable knowledge.

Writing occupies a vital place in ethnography not only because it is a form of recording research findings and making interpretations, but because it brings along with it the “voice” of the writer. According to Kathy Charmaz and Richard Mitchell, Jr., “voice is the animus of storytelling, the manifestation of author’s will, intent, and feeling” (1997: 193). Scholars are often required to mute their voices in academic writing, but recent writings show candid reports that divulge the author’s confusion, ambivalence, ambiguity, revulsion, astonishment or awe. Committed ethnographers acknowledge their inadequacies in experiencing and communicating something of the Others’ lives (Dyll 2004; 2007; Enevoldsen 2003; McLennan-Dodd 2003; 2007; Tomaselli 2007). While “silence” or non-intrusive authorship (in which “the proper voice is no voice at all”) was previously considered mature scholarship, now professional honesty is valued (Charmaz & Mitchell, Jr 1997: 194; Ruby 2000). There now is recognition that a researcher and the people s/he studies are active actors in the research process bound to influence each other. The researcher becomes “the instrument of his/her (own) research” (Charmaz & Mitchell, Jr 1997: 194). Reflexivity therefore becomes the major tool in the acquisition of knowledge by monitoring over the problem of the researcher’s subjective influences on his/her topic (Wasserfall 1997: 151). The “producer-product-process” relations surrounding the production of any cultural text need to be fully understood so that the notion of ‘objectivity’ is reassessed (Mhiripiri 2003: 73-77; Ruby 1977; 2000: 156; Tomaselli 2007). According to Ruby (2000: 156) critics who regard the revelation of an academic’s “voice” in scholarly works as a “narcissistic, overly personal, subjective, and even unscientific” endeavour, are positivist empiricists who believe that reality in the social sciences is objective and quantifiable. However, they ignore that reality and objectivity are contestable and far from homogenous and simplistic. According to Tomaselli (1996: 23) this is the problem in traditional Western epistemology, which accepts philosophical dualities of subject/object, mind/matter, rational/irrational.

I should acknowledge that the authorial voice and reflexivity of any kind must be done sparingly and with due proportion, with the main purpose to put across the argument and issues under study, rather than for its own sake. Excessive authorial intrusions and reflexivity can confuse issues and undermine the purpose of ethnographic research (Mhiripiri 2003: 77).

Here I use both authorial intrusion (autoethnography) and silent authorship intermittently depending on the appropriateness and stylistic demands of material for presentation (Denzin 1997; Denzin & Lincoln 2002a; 2002b; Ellis & Bochner 2000). Since “the self is key to fieldwork”, as S. Reinhartz (1997: 3-20) says, I reveal the various selves that I brought to the field of research. I also analyse what other selves of mine were *created* in the field as a result of the norms of the social setting and the way in which the research subjects interacted with me. Reinhartz (1997: 5) identified three major categories for a researcher’s selves, namely; i) research-based selves; ii) brought selves, and iii) situationally created selves. Using these categories I classified myself/selves relevant to the research experiences with the Zulu and Bushmen. To elaborate:

Research-based selves: I entered the research project headed and coordinated by Tomaselli of the University of KwaZulu-Natal Centre for Culture and Communication Studies as a graduate student³⁰. The project had been running since 1995, but I joined in 2001 on enrolment as a doctoral student; I worked with a team of other students and research affiliates (journalists and photographers) some who are not ‘permanent’ members of the research group; I was a member of a virtual research community whose membership is always fluctuating, and was one of a number of individual co-researchers who change as they join and others leave; I was a person who visited and left cultural settings; not belonging permanently to the communities I aimed to study;

Brought selves: I am a ‘black’ Zimbabwean and from a working class background. I grew up Roman Catholic and was mission educated; I judge myself both cosmopolitan in world outlook as far as tolerating other people’s cultural practices, but also ‘conservative’ as far as subscribing to particular moral codes and values. For instance, whilst I have a Catholic upbringing, I have an understanding of the psycho-spiritual experiences especially of trance and spirit possession since these exist in my cultural frames; I am a published fiction writer³¹; I am married with a young family that was permanently based in Zimbabwe while I was temporarily in South Africa; I am a bilingual black Bantu fluent in Shona and English, but due to the generic relations of bantu languages able to understand some Zulu words and their

³⁰ Over the years Tomaselli’s research project has changed names, but is currently run under the name “Rethinking Indigeneity”.

³¹ I have published short stories in the anthologies *No More Plastic Balls* (2000), C. Chihota & R. Muponde (eds.) Harare: College Press; *A Roof to Repair* (2000), College Press (ed), Harare: College Press; *Dreams, Miracles and Jazz* (2008), H. Habila & K. Sesay (eds), Cape Town: Picador Africa.

worldview, I struggled though to converse in isiZulu, and was totally ignorant of any Bushman language and Afrikaans; I was a university lecturer in Zimbabwe on ‘study leave’³²; I was a Zimbabwean in South Africa at a time of the Zimbabwe land problem and political, economic and racial meltdown; I was studying people in a post-apartheid South Africa which in most aspects is still full of hope, while paradoxically I came from a troubled country (Harold-Barry 2004; Melber 2004; Vambe 2008); I am a son; I come from the Shona people with their own prejudices and myths about other people, especially about the Bushmen and Nguni descendents (amongst whom the Ndebele of Zimbabwe and the Zulu of South Africa are found); In Shona traditional mythology the Bushmen are very short people – but they can also be very vicious short paranormal ‘goblins’ that torment the taller Bantu by asking where the taller person saw them first; in Shona mythology if you confess you had just seen the goblin when it spoke to you, the goblin beats you up for insulting it by implying it is too short; in the same vein, due to the Ndebele raids on the Shona during the pre-colonial period (Samkange 1978), people of Nguni stock (amongst whom the Zulu incidentally fall) are war-like and bloodthirsty;

Situationally created selves: I was a visitor, an tourist/anthro-tourist in Zulu and Bushman areas; I was a temporary member of the South African community as a whole; I was on a temporary study permit; I became a friend to some of my research subjects; I was asked about myself and my own background by my research subjects; I was a researcher in a multiracial, multiethnic, research team composed of male and female members of varying ages.

My autobiographical revelations should help in understanding my research and the manner it was conducted. A reflexive exposure of my own subjectivity and idiosyncrasies will best explain the transformation of my attitudes during the course of research towards particular issues. Particular examples are my first encounters with barebreasted Zulu and Bushmen women and the discomfort I experienced although I did not reveal this *in situ*. In Zimbabwe women’s breasts across ethnic groups are only exposed in public when women are nursing babies, and in most cases the women are self-conscious and tend to conceal the breasts with a shawl. Female performers of traditional dances and other ethnographic exhibitions who wear supposedly traditional clothes, including animal skins, always cover their breasts in bras. However, all black ethnic groups had women, especially young girls and very old women,

³² The contractual status posed problems in my research and denied me the opportunity to join the research team that went to the Kalahari in July 2002. The Midlands State University for which I work, after we had signed a contract providing me study leave on salary unilaterally breached the contract and I had to suddenly return to Zimbabwe when my wife raised alarm that she could no longer access money to fend for my young family.

who nonchalantly conducted themselves with their breasts bare. Breasts were in no way sexualised in performance. There are many photographs of nineteenth and early twentieth century women shown with uncovered breasts. For example, some colonial photographs of Mbuya Nehanda, the female freedom fighter of the First Chimurenga (War of Liberation of 1896-97) show her with exposed breasts. This culture was obviously discouraged as savage and primitive as people were introduced to the market economy and new Western clothes. The ideological arm of the transformation was partly the Church and educational institutions (Muchemwa and Muponde 2004).

My Zimbabwean background with its Catholicism and largely Victorian Judeo-Christian values shaped my perceptions and moral values, and so did it for many others in South Africa. Another Zimbabwean student I met in South Africa told me of his dilemma with regards to seeing female bare breasts in public. He was invited by an undergraduate classmate to her *umemulo* (“coming of age ceremony”) in Umlazi township, Durban. He carried along his camera and photographed proceedings, especially “all those beautiful girls with bare breasts”. He was also photographed posing alongside young Zulu maidens in traditional attire. On showing other Zimbabwean male students we sniggered and made lewd comments. But underlining all our responses was not only the salacious eye but a cultural ‘superiority’ in which we were all agreed that this was a kind of exotica we could never associate with our own Zimbabwean girls. One of us asked the photographer if he would show his photo album to his parents back in Zimbabwe. He sounded hesitant, then finally decided that he would, but with some bit of explaining. We tried to laugh away the dilemma, yet we remained acutely aware that such pictures could bring a lot of discomfort in our home communities³³. It must be noted, however, that amongst the Zulu young women, appearing in public with bare breasts connotes chastity, purity, virginity and being unmarried. These are virtues in the Zulu culture that should be emulated by young single maids (Soka Mthembu, interview, 3 May 2003; also see Mthethwa 2008; Appendix 1).

³³ Contemporary Zimbabwean and South African attitudes on unmarried women’s uncovered breasts continue to differ radically. The public broadcaster Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) edits all footage from its neighbouring countries in which ceremonies are broadcast where such maidens appear. The birthday of King Mswati which was attended by President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe featured many maidens who, however, were conveniently edited out of the pictures broadcast on ZBC. The casual approach to breasts by Zimbabwe’s southern neighbour brought embarrassment on one occasion when during a women’s soccer match that was broadcast live on public television a Banyana Banyana (South Africa’s female national soccer team) player on being substituted, rather casually removed her jersey and walked towards her team’s bench ‘nude’. Zimbabwean aides had to rush to cover her up!

Being there and moral qualms

The research experience invariably made me a member of the communities, and an integral element of the systems I was studying. While the encounters were delicate and unpredictable, especially when meeting the ≠Khomani, my research group and I negotiated our presence so that we were eventually accepted by the hosts. Much as we tried to 'belong', it was possible to identify with the subject communities only to a certain extent. Amongst the ≠Khomani the visible poverty, depravation and alcoholism was disillusioning. The rude reality of poverty made me feel sharply that even as a student my circumstances were relatively better off. These are times when I felt like emptying my pockets to buy any trinkets and artefacts on sale. Notwithstanding my moments of soul-searching, I was consoled that the people often disclosed that they respected the CCMS team because we "respected people and the Bushmen in turn respected us" (Vetkat and Belinda Kruiper, discussion, April 2002). We do not just take from the community, but in our humble ways we contribute to the community through sending back photographs, completed dissertations and publications that used our research communities as subjects. Such reassurances are mollifying given that there is the possibility that written academic papers are abstractions that are potentially "enddistancing/alienating/reifying (experiences) for both students, academics and subjects/hosts/collaborators who constantly complain that they are unable to recognise themselves, their experiences and conditions as presented by the researchers (Tomaselli 2003: 883). Belinda Kruiper told me during a visit to Durban in 2001 that the ≠Khomani now eagerly wait for parcels from CCMS that bring their photographs and published material about them. The community is flattered to hear stories about them read out by the fireside on the sand dunes. They are gratified to see their actual names mentioned in printed documents. The entire process dignifies them and makes them believe in themselves once again. The CCMS work has assumed the previously not thought of role of heightening self-belief and self-esteem in a marginalised society. Due to this, I make it a point to name all of the informants in the write up, with the exception of when I deliberately conceal someone's identity for ethical reasons. For instance, I have had reason to protect the identity of a victim of alleged sexual abuse.

Photography, paintings, films and videos as primary sources

Visual representation in all media forms are now accepted as proper ethnographic records that can complement traditional written ethnographic records (Collier & Collier 1986; Davies 1999; 124-135; Moxey 2008; Ruby 2000; Winston 1995). Paintings, still photography and

motion picture film and video are important tools of ethnographic research. Written records can arise from studying paintings and craftwork and their symbolic significance. The same applies to photographs, films and videos shot independently as part of the field research. The use of visual media as a research tool central to methodology nonetheless ought not to be regarded as an uncritical realist perspective with absolute objectivity. According to C.A. Davies (1999: 120-121), there is a naive realism associated with all audio-visual mechanically processed recording whereas in truth such recordings are restricted in time and space. The limitation is considerable when one compares the spatial and temporal observations (recordings) of an ethnographer because the camera lens can only film that which is pro-filmic, and can only record that which is 'real', whereas a human being has broader vision.

My research team did some videoing and photographic shootings. For example, Sian Dunn and Linje Manyozo Mlauzi respectively still photographed and video filmed our April 2002 trip to Blinkwater, Erin, Welkom and Witdraai in the Kalahari. Linje and other students repeated a similar filming process in July 2002. The photography, edited video and raw footage are available at CCMS (Mlauzi 2002a; Reinhardt 2002a; 2002b; Reinhardt & Sætre 2002; Sætre 2002; Lange & Nxumalo 2003). I used these visuals not only to recall situations and incidences, but to critique the cultural tourism practices and its implications for ethnic identity. Since I was in a research team in which some members were particular about photography as a research method, I inevitably gained insight into specific issues due to the photo-elicitation that could be taking place. For example, an encounter with Rosa Meinjties, a ≠Khomani woman and ethnographic performer, at her Erin farm home was spectacular because of its visual photographic elements. Firstly, she cries on one instance after she is shown old photographs from the Donald Bain³⁴ exhibitions (see Gordon 2002: 220; Lindfors 1999; Manyozo 2003). She later offered to change her clothes into traditional regalia when we asked to take photographs of the family members present at the farm, an offer we turned down for reasons I will explain in Chapter Five that focuses on contemporary Bushmen ethnographic displays.

I use photographs and documentary as evidence of having been there in the Kalahari as well as to revive my memory of the people I met there, notwithstanding the environment and

³⁴ Donald Bain exhibited Bushmen at the 1936 Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg.

mood. In my performative writing it is therefore a methodological technique that I can cross-reference to some of the visual media. In fact, I actually read and speak to the photographs inserted into the Bregin and Kruiper book (2004), reflexively using cross-genre ways of communicating. The photographs in Belinda Kruiper's book are important because *Kalahari RainSong* has been critically reviewed for this particular study, and it generally reinforces and complements my own observations as someone who has been to the Kalahari amongst the ≠Khomani. However, the photographs in *Kalahari RainSong* were not taken by CCMS photographers.

Ironically, CCMS generated visuals and footage are nearly absent for fieldtrips associated with Zulu cultural villages. The reason might be that not many students particularly interested in videoing and photography have joined research trips to Zulu cultural villages, as compared to those who have visited Bushmen settlements across South Africa and in Botswana. However, the visuals I used for the Zulu were not necessarily on the cultural village experience per se, but of other imaginative films and documentaries made by others (e.g. *Zulu Voyage* (Cassenti & Letellier 1998); *Shaka Zulu* (Faure 1985); *Zulu*³⁵ (Endfield 1964); *Zulu Dawn* (Saint Claire *et al* 1979); *Lesedi Cultural Experience* (a marketing video)). The scarcity of visual material and ethnographic publications on the Zulu generated within CCMS is oblique testimony that the Tomaselli-led research team is more coordinated when studying the Kalahari communities and the Bushmen in general than it is with the Zulu associated tourism.

I did not limit my primary reference visual media sources to that produced in CCMS only, but included documentary and film made by professionals and other amateurs. Watching non-fictional and fictional films about the Zulu and the Bushman made me familiar with the dominant images circulated for the popular imagination. Both documentary and fictional film about the Zulu and the Bushman made pretensions about iconic and mythical ethnographic details, especially in the use of stereotypes and archetypes which now signify being Zulu or Bushman. Fictional productions such as Jamie Uys (1980) *The Gods Must Be Crazy* series, *Shaka Zulu* (Faure 1985), *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979) helped me understand the dominant myths and stereotypes about the Bushmen and the Zulu. Ethnographic documentary

³⁵ *Zulu* is the legendary film on the British defence of the Rorke's Drift outpost in Natal, and *Zulu Dawn* is its sequel showcasing the Battle of Isandlwana in which the British were defeated in 1879.

films such as *Lindawo Zikathixo – In God’s Places* (Staehelin & Wicksteed 1997), *Zulu Voyage* (Cassenti & Letellier 1998), *N!ai: The Story of a !Kung Woman* (Marshall 1978), *The Hunters* (Marshall & Gardner 1958); *The Great Dance* (Foster & Foster 2000), *People of the Great Sandface* (Myburgh 1985), *The Kalahari Family* series (Marshall 2002), *Hunt or Die: The San Bushmen of the Kalahari* (Bjerre 1995), *Save the Kalahari San* (Perrott 1993). John Perrott’s short documentary is a promotion for a book by the same author entitled *Bush for the Bushman: Need the Gods Must Be Crazy People Die?* (1992). The latter is an impassioned call to “save” the Bushman from extinction, made at a time when other ethnographic filmmakers were focusing on the ravages of modernity and the market economy on Bushman descendents still present in the Kalahari (Marshall 1979). Perrott’s impassioned allusion to Uys film single-handedly renewed the Bushman myth in the world imagination. *The God’s Must be Crazy* is perhaps the most famous evocation of the Bushman myth (Marshall 2002; Tomaselli 2001). The stereotype of an essentially hunter-gatherer Bushman community surviving untainted by the world global processes of the past few centuries is evoked. The Bushmen are presented as people who still “live quite unaware of other people”, with “no sense of (private property) ownership at all”, and on the verge of extinction as a people (Perrott 1992; 1993). Films like *Hunt or Die* and *Save the Kalahari San* present the Bushmen as pre-historic people, albeit living contemporaneously with modernity but unaware of it. They are considered postmodern man’s window into the distant pre-historic past of humanity. The following assertion by Perrott (1993) therefore makes sense in that context: “Our ancestors lived as a part of and in tune with nature. A few such people still exist in the last corners of our earth – among them are the Bushmen”.

While *The Gods Must be Crazy* is not documentary and relies on stereotypes about the Bushman, Jamie Uys however perpetuated the Bushman myth by staging a documentary of the homecoming of the film’s main actor !Gao³⁶ (real life name G/qa’o/Hana) after the shooting of the movie and the subsequent world promotional tours. Hence John Marshall critiques in his own comparatively ‘sincere’ documentary: “In the myth !Gao went back to live an idyllic life in the bush; in reality he bought a house in Tsamko and a car from the money he made as a film star” (Marshall 2002)

³⁶ While Marshall (2002) spells the film name as !Gao, documentalist Daniel Riesenfeld (2003) uses N!xau!. I use either name depending on which film I am referring to and how the name was spelt out in the transcription.

Bushmen descendents have also started revising or qualifying the dominant popular myths and stereotypes in alternative film and video. In Marshall's (2002) Part 5 of the *Kalahari Family*, understandably subtitled *Death of a Myth*, Tsamko, a Bushman from Namibia notes: "There are two kinds of films (that represent the Bushmen). Films that show us as in (animal) skins are lies. Films that tell the truth show us with cattle, with farms, with our own water, making our own plans".

In a documentary made in later years that shows and presents interviews with *The Gods Must be Crazy's* star first in middle age, then in relative old age and widowed, before his death, G/qa'o/'Hana divulges that he was made by the filmmaker to act an imagined past life he was no longer part of in reality. He is ambiguous about the invention of the mythical past as compared to a reflection of the contemporary quotidian Bushmen life in which people now own donkeys, goats and struggle to cope in a market economy. I quote G/qa'o/'Hana to show his ambiguities:

I thought that being in a movie would help people in other countries *understand how we live here*. When the film crew found me, I was working at the local school. I worked as a gardener at the school. They asked me to dress up in skins; *to pretend to be a real Bushman*, just like it was in the old days. *I didn't think it was right to do things which are not true*. They said it would be good for me, so *I did what they asked me to do*. It's better to show the way we really live (Riesenfeld 2003 - emphasis is mine).

Uys's films are far from reflexive and do not reveal their method of production as would be expected in serious ethnographic film (Ruby 1977; 2000). His films are at best farcical and he extends the make-believe and ludicrous fun in *The Gods Must be Funny in China* a sequel to *The Gods Must Be Crazy 1* and 2. In a slapstick manner he mixes snippets of historical fact and fantasy in *The God's Must be Funny in China*, and in many ways he is poking fun at the serious critic. He continues to use the coca-cola icon in this movie as in the older ones, and as !Gao is introduced in Hong Kong the transcription reads: "The African Bushman with 30 000 years history. It's the oldest tribe in Africa. Their lives seem to be simple, but their Kung-fu is not that simple" (Uys 1994).

Journey to Nyae Nyae is a relatively hopeful documentary as compared to Marshall's series. While the community shown by Marshall is plagued by alcoholism and violence, *Journey to*

Nyae Nyae focuses on the educational developments in the community, children learning to use cameras and computers, and G/qa'o/'Hana noting that life was generally better than in the past when they were poorer.³⁷ He personally receives royalties for the films in which he acted, there are some developments, and he anticipates more progressive change. For him, in spite of the distortions he earlier complained about the fictional genre in which he acted, film “preserves the past” (Riesenfeld 2003). He seems content with the documentary genre which allows him to see again his deceased wife and see himself in youthful times.

Like in the other documentaries and ‘staged’ visual ethnographies on the Bushmen, the activities of hunting, tracking and picking berries and herbs is shown in the G/qa'o/'Hana documentary (Bjerre 1995; Forster & Forster 2000; Marshall & Gardner 1958; Myburgh 1985; Riesenfeld 2003; Sætre & Reinhardt 2002). They become leitmotif as well as residual culture since the people matter of factly state they are still taught by their elders how to do this, meaning those who are not taught the skills are ignorant of them. The claims and assertions about the Bushmen culture and identity and the enacting of archetypical behaviour such as hunting and tracking poses direct questions such as what does it mean to have a *living* relationship with the past? And what happens if some of those links are broken?

Much as the films and documentaries I refer to here do not make direct reference to the ≠Khomani who are the subject community of my research, my contention is that there are more existential similarities between the Namibian Bushman filmed by Marshall, Uys and Daniel Riesenfeld (2003). Truly, there are many Bushmen groups that traditionally had different distinct languages across Southern Africa, but there are commonalities in their depiction in the popular media. These people have also been affected by historical processes and different colonialism in much the same ways.

³⁷ John Marshall’s documentaries on the Ju/'hoansi of Namibia, however, enabled me to cultivate a critical understanding of the power dynamics in Bushmen communities. The Ju/'hoansi successfully engaged in farming at one time until development agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Non Government Organisations (NGOs) with the compliance of the Namibian government decided that Bushmanland is best suited for wildlife management and cultural tourism. Elephants are introduced where none existed before and they wreck the water-tanks on Ju/'hoansi farms. This leads to poverty, disease and social dislocation due to frustration caused mainly by the promotion of policies advanced by powerful interest groups that are convinced the Bushmen can still live as hunter-gatherers in the late twentieth century. They try to turn this myth into a reality (Marshall 2002).

These videos concretised the theories of Alterity and Othering and how they have been addressed with regard to the Zulu and the Bushman (Fabian 1983; 1985; 1987; 2005; Thomas 1994; Tomaselli 1996; 1999; 2001). They provide apt examples of how Africans have been imagined by different interest groups, putting at the centre the ever-problematic notion of ‘authenticity’ and representation. From the Bushmen visuals and literature a school of thought is traceable that insists the future of the Bushmen lies in cultural tourism. For example, in his *Save the Kalahari San* (1993) video Perrott is unequivocal that “tourism is Botswana’s real future”. This attitude is partly attributable to Perrott’s own family and personal history of conservation.³⁸ A development worker for the Nyae Nyae Farmers Cooperative argued vociferously with filmmaker John Marshall that there is need to return the Bushmen to a hunter-gatherer society to boost tourism (Marshall 2002). These perspectives presented visually, however, in both superficially critical and reflexively ethnographic formats gave me insights into the power dynamics involved in the Bushman identities and their ‘authenticity’.

Theoretical perspectives generate parallel readings of popular Hollywood western films of cowboys and Indians and those fictionalised movies on the Zulu (Davies 1996). White South Africans pitted against the Zulu in the historic military encounters were comparable to white Europeans “taming” the American “Wild West”. Footage from films on the Zulu such as *Untamed* (1955), *Zulu* (1964) and *Zulu Dawn* (1979) depict white people’s martial encounters with the Zulu. These visuals have produced and reinforced the myth and stereotype of the warlike Zulu. However some films such as *Zulu Voyage* (1998) try to make the Zulu appear a modern social people who are part of the global market economy. It shows Zulu artists working with different genres of music, coming from diverse social backgrounds and living quotidian lives in contemporary South Africa. The film shows these artists embarking on a journey to perform for audiences in France (Cassenti & Letellier 1998). The emphasis in this case is on the contemporaneity and complexity of the Zulu identities, something which is rearticulated frequently in current literature as shown in my literature review (Carton & Draper 2008; Hamilton 1998).

³⁸ The family history is published on the website http://www.humboldtexposed.org/about_us.asp. The Perrotts have been involved in conservation in the USA and have also helped with preserving the Southern African forests and elephants.

On the whole the viewing of visual documentaries was crucial for my understanding of the complexities of imagings and the political economy of representation. Films were a research record encoded with various signs with at times conflicting intentions pertaining to the representation of the Bushman and the Zulu. I was therefore better prepared to encounter my chosen subject communities the #Khomani and the Zulu at ethnographic villages after watching the filmic visual in their fictional and purported documentary essences. I could therefore cross-reference writings of my encounters with both the #Khomani and the Zulu with filmic references.

Vetkat's Paintings and their special place in the visual methodology

Perhaps the choice of critically appreciating Vetkat Kruiper's paintings in Chapter Seven will best suit the cultural studies tradition of studying texts, in this case artistic text (paintings). I studied these paintings using a reflexive performative and inter-textual approach to critically appreciate them. Semiotics as a science of signs and a Jungian analysis are employed in the study of this visual media (Tomaselli 1996; Hall 1996; Taussig 1993). The paintings occupy a special place in the realm of contemporary #Khomani cultural productions because they demand serious aesthetic critical analysis using contemporary art theory (see Kocur & Leung 2005). The art allows me to analyse the use of archetypical motifs in contemporary Bushmen art, as well as to investigate the use of other avant-garde symbols traditionally not associated with the Bushmen. The resultant syncretic and multicultural visual images and their implications can only be understood if a purely textual approach is utilised, but with a heavy reliance of complementary readings from other genres such as proper film, photograph, oral narratives, and written ethnography and mythology. The paintings are also historicised especially when I situate them in contemporary colonial and postcolonial history. The gun image perhaps best symbolises historical context and the vision for a violence free society for which the paintings aspire (Appendix 22).

Why do I choose Vetkat Kruiper's art for special critical analysis, and what is its relationship with cultural tourism, one might ask? It is because there is a proliferation of glossy coffee table books published annually on ancient rock art, and meant to attract tourists and leisure seekers to particular scenic and cultural heritage sites (Jeursen 1995). Most of this literature

barely acknowledges the existence of contemporary Busmen artists³⁹. In fact, some obliquely perpetuate the myth generated by Laurens van der Post in *Testament of the Bushmen* (1984) where he asserts that his grandfather was complicit in the killing of the last known Bushman rock artist. According to Tomaselli (2003a: 61) when he particularly writes on Bushmen art and tourism, most of the popular publications on Bushmen rock art locate the art in “the ‘past’, shrouded in the mists of antiquity, to be preserved for heritage sake.” What has to be acknowledged though is that Bushmen artists never disappeared and they continue to exist throughout Southern Africa. The art is reinvented by a new generation of artists working from popular memory and orature, infusing new influences, working on new and different surfaces other than rock walls, and expressing not only their collective ethnic identity but personal idiosyncrasies (Guenther 1997: 121-134; Le Roux & White 2004; Tomaselli 2003a)

The resuscitation of Bushmen art is ironically attributed to tourism whose popular media ironically sidelines or ignores this contemporary art’s presence. This new art is made and sold all over the Kalahari Desert, just as other works and performances by First peoples are produced and distributed throughout the world (Thomas 1994; Causey 2003; Ness 2003). Again, Tomaselli writes (2003a: 61):

Instead of immovable and remote overhangs and caves, or works on large heavy rocks lugged to roadside stalls, ≠Khomani artists like Vetkat Kruiper and Silikat van Wyk, now use small shale fragments, paper, material and ostrich eggs, amongst other surfaces. These can be easily packed away by tourists in their suitcases and taken home for display with van Gogh prints and mass-produced Picasso cubism.

The juxtaposition of Bushmen art to “van Gogh prints and mass-produced Picasso cubism” is not intended to be in any way cynical in this context, but an attempt to show that contemporary Bushmen cultural productions can easily be considered an integral part of postmodern popular culture just as any other popularly promoted and distributed works from elsewhere.

³⁹ More recent studies are attempting to situate contemporary Bushmen in the present but they rarely succeed to systematically undo the damage done by early anthropological and archaeological theories of evolution, or the perpetuation of myths in tourism brochures. The academic studies do not spread their findings as ubiquitously as happens with the tourism marketing materials (see Guenther 1997; Liebenberg 1995; Tomaselli 2001b).

Limitations of Study

The major methodological limitation of my research paradoxically is its strength. My work is deeply predicated in textual methodologies that underpin Cultural Studies, but it also borrows much from anthropology and ethnography. Textual approaches mean that I ‘contrive’ to make even ephemerally flitting happenings that are not ordinarily tactile but merely visual, such as performances and oral narratives, be treated in a strict textual sense. Again, but relying on the amorphous methodologies of Cultural Studies that are eclectic, I do not seem to thoroughly and convincingly emphasise any traditionally recognised methodology. I do not purport to use wholesale anthropology and ethnography, but only selective essential aspects that permit me to discuss specific communities. One such vital aspect is the episodic but necessary fieldwork which makes Cultural Studies empirically credible, albeit with criticism of the excursions and immersions in the researched communities not being long enough (During 1993; Gray 2003; Tomaselli 2005). I am aware of the limitations linked to the frequency and duration of contact with subject communities and informants and the resultant difficulties of establishing trust and rapport. My write up is also in 2008, several years after I was at any cultural village either in the Kalahari or in KwaZulu-Natal. For instance, my last visit to the Kalahari and an encounter with any member of the ≠Khomani community was in 2006, but I have maintained contact with the ‘organic intellectual’ Belinda Kruiper through email, and also received reassuring updates by the CCMS research team that continues to be renewed with fresh graduate students.

The concerns with the duration of staying amongst the subject community partly explains why some ethnographers commit the better part of their academic lives living amongst and continuously visiting the specific communities they will be studying. Some researchers conduct research for more than a decade with the same community in order to gratify themselves as well as their scholarly peers that they are rigorous ethnographers (Marshall 2002; Stille 2002; Tomaselli 2005; Taussig 1993). Eventually, it is the quality and not quantity of research done that matters.

Mixing Cultural Studies methodology and ethnographic methodology here might seem as if the former is ‘dirtying’ itself up and ‘over-reaching’. This however is an inevitable crisis judging from the trends in academia. Cultural Studies and the social sciences in general offer an interdisciplinary space where a range of existing disciplines are merging in practice. The disciplines nonetheless bring along their own particular questions, concerns and specialities

(Deacon *et al* 1999: 3; Wallerstein 1999). Textualisation of both tangible paintings and optically 'tactile' but ordinarily ephemeral oral narratives and self-performances remain the mainstay of methodology. This locates me in Cultural Studies research, although I advance the field through incorporating supporting evidence drawn through fieldwork. Performative acts and human behaviour are systematically observed and recorded rather than confining myself to studying 'traditional' media and cultural studies texts such as books, films and television programmes (During 1993; Gray 2003; Grossberg 1996; Hall 1996; Morley 1992)

My second major limitation was linguistic, especially when it came to direct first-hand communication with both Zulu and Bushman informants who could not speak English. While my Zulu informants, mainly tour guides, could speak English, I felt there are some things that I could best comprehend if I understood their language. Mastery of language and adoption of cultural values and standards of a particular ethnic group often results in an 'outsider' claiming or being conferred honorary identity by that group (Hamilton 1998; Player 1998; Wylie 2000). Communication problems were marked in my interactions with the ≠Khomani who use Nama or Afrikaans as lingua franca. I relied on translations, or in exceptional cases I conversed with informants in a version of English that was overly simplified. Such was the case when I spoke to Silikat van Wyk, the ethnographic performer, artist and craftsman who speaks very little English, but nonetheless makes communicable sense.

Where I relied on translators (who happened to be either my fellow researchers from CCMS or ≠Khomani members) I felt dissatisfied in some instances with the research information I gathered. Translation posed its problems and challenges. There was the feeling of helplessness on getting answers to things one had not actually asked about. The sense and sensibility could be lost by the time an answer was relayed to me. My worst instance of translation was a visit I paid to Dawid Kruiper's homestead. I went along with a young Bushman woman I hired after I got the impression she could translate for me. I had interviewed Sussana Witbooi and Tina Witbooi at the craft centre and they offered me this young woman as a translator. I had trusted her because my initial conversation with her older colleagues at the centre was manageable. She had spoken very little to me and I thought perhaps she was simply taciturn. When I interviewed Hendrik Kruiper, Dawid Kruiper's younger brother, what she said was nearly indistinct and she spent much of the interview

nursing her fretting baby! I paid honorarium of R20 for the effort, though I should confess she never pressed me to pay!⁴⁰

My interactions and research experiences with Vanessa McLennan-Dodd (a white young English-speaking South African woman with some considerable understanding of Afrikaans) best exemplify some of the ambiguities and problems of research while relying on an interpreter who supposedly speaks the interviewee's language. At times I felt 'misrepresented' and one instance comes out remarkably; an interviewee that ironically had some knowledge of English, insisted in Afrikaans on answering what he thought was my intended question, which he believed Vanessa had rephrased. I only noticed this anomaly when reading the transcriptions several months later. Dawid Kariseb, whom I was interviewing at Welkom, put Vanessa to task about her translation. I realised this on reading the sections of the transcription originally in Afrikaans but now conveniently italicised for me in the final wholly English text I eventually used. I had asked whether the 'Bushmen' were not taking advantage of the post apartheid dispensation to be identified as First Peoples or Bushmen, yet a considerable number of them had been 'happy' to be classified "coloured" and better than "Blacks" during apartheid. My translator apparently struggled to put the question across. The interviewee was perceptive and light-heartedly made this known to Vanessa. The interview went on as follows at that moment;

Vanessa: He says during the time of Apartheid it was better to be Coloured than Black. And...uh...uh...

Dawid: (Laughing) The Afrikaans is getting the better of you ...

Nhamo: *I'm saying the Coloured had privileges and Bushmen were classified as Coloured.*⁴¹

Vanessa: Yes.

Dawid: If you pose questions the way this guy does, you will get straight answers. (Dawid Kariseb, interview, 4 April 2002).

At the time of the interview I might have felt something was amiss, but I could not exactly say what precisely. However, the exchange between Vanessa and Kariseb only shows that

⁴⁰ Observations from the September 2006 fieldtrip during which I stayed close to the Witdraai ≠Khomani community alone as the rest of the research group went to !Xaus Lodge in the KTP.

⁴¹ Sections in italics on the transcription were originally in English and those in standard print were in Afrikaans.

research is a performative act in which even the questions and their intended meanings are negotiated and interpreted by all involved in the communicative act.

The complications could be two-fold; the translator right on the scene of the interview was not in most cases the same translator/transcriber who compiled the interview scripts. For instance, after Jodi had assisted me with interviewing the people at Welkom, it was Nelia Oets who translated and transcribed the discussions. For example, in an email forwarding transcribed attachments to me, Vanessa reveals the problematic of translating works initially translated by somebody else. She wrote:

Here are the transcriptions from Nelia. She says there are a few things in bold which she wasn't clear on. It doesn't look like a lot though. The main thing is, on tape A it refers to understanding/intellect quite a lot. The Afrikaans word is "verstand" and we think it can refer to intellect or understanding, knowledge and maturity. Complicated, as Linje says! (Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, email, 3 March 2003).

Vanessa McLennan-Dodd's own reflexive turn on interviews and translation only make our experiences ironic and dramatic. My erstwhile translator modestly makes this confession about translation:

A fundamental difficulty in these encounters is translation. Language is a paradigm in communication. Until I tried it, I thought translation was a simple matter of repeating what the interviewee said in the language of the interviewer. Not so much – particularly when one has, in one's cleverness, inspired the interviewees with confidence that one is fluent in the language and understands every word they say. People are misguided enough to believe this in me, and then they start asking "Verstaan jy, verstaan jy?" (Do you understand, do you understand?) while I nod hopefully and the interviewer looks at me expectantly and I say, "I think he is talking about....I know he is very "ongelukkig" [unhappy] about something" (McLennan-Dodd 2007: 108).

Here the interview as a performative act comes out sharply. It therefore questions the very value and significance of information obtained from such encounters.

There is an instance when I actually believe Vanessa spoke about my own dilemmas and frustrations when she translated for me. She writes:

It is also very difficult to maintain communication between interviewer and interviewee through translation. Because the interviewee doesn't understand a word the interviewer is saying, he or she gets the impression of actually having a conversation with the translator (so-called translator in my case) with this other person just hanging around, and if the interviewee feels the translator needs to be told a particular story, he or she will tell it, regardless of what the interviewer might in fact want to know. And the interviewee is unlikely to pause for breath and translation purposes for at least ten minutes (McLennan-Dodd 2007: 108).

Vanessa was a relatively 'older' member of our research team when I went to the Kalahari and the people were relatively familiar with her, especially that she could speak and understand some Afrikaans. When she interviewed for me, the informants ended up focusing on talking to Vanessa, than to me the *stranger* in the research setting. Despite my frustrations, research helped me understand and appreciate the role played by Vanessa and other co-researchers in trying to make our research 'doable' and possible. I can only empathise, and appreciate the friendships, interrelationships and dependencies that we created amongst each other.

Conclusion

The methods and methodology employed in this thesis are an integral part of the research process. They are intricately linked to the findings and do influence the findings and eventual critical conclusions made on the relationship between ethnographic performances, contemporary Zulu and Bushmen cultural productions and assumed ethnic identities. The methods used to present data and the stylistic choices made are not merely for aesthetic reasons, especially my reflexive and performative writing style, but are a conscious effort to give this academic construction form and structure.

Next is the first section of presentations of my reflexive experiences of performative acts at the selected Zulu commercial cultural villages I visited, namely PheZulu, Shakaland, Simunye and Lesedi. My interest is investigating and appreciating how Zulu identities are produced and reproduced at these site-specific commercialised environments.

Chapter Four

Encounters at Zulu Cultural Villages and Identity Implications

Subject positioning and autoethnography

I come to the study of cultural tourism with my own history. I know what is supposedly “traditional” from a diverse range of sources including oral traditions, schooling, and the media. The notion of ‘tradition’ does not entail stasis or fixed/frozen in time human practices and norms, but entrenched habits that are constantly evolving and reinvented (Hall 1996; Ranger 1983; Williams 1958). In my home country Zimbabwe there are countless audio-visually communicated practices, artefacts, spaces and locations that are dubbed ‘traditional’. These include religious ceremonies, dance and dress customs, cuisine, architectural designs, language forms and their phonetics, geographic sites and locations. All these have archetypical characteristics that those who behold them and are ‘literate’ (cognisant) of their content, form and intended meaning immediately identify and associate with a particular ethnic group. For instance, the geometric designs ascribed to the Ndebele are well-known, as well as the chevron designs of Great Zimbabwe in Masvingo Province, and the Matopo Hills in Matabeleland are considered sacred and part of the Mwari (God) traditional religion. ‘Traditional Dance Competitions’ are an annual feature at most primary schools, and depending on ethnic region and focus these draw on particular styles. There is also the annual Neshamwari Dance competition for adult competitors from throughout the country’s ethnic and regional divide.

I grew up in the Mashonaland region and Nguni dances are not ubiquitous but they have been featured on public media due to the Ndebele presence in the country. A Zimbabwean poet and college classmate of mine, Albert Nyathi has popularised the Nguni dances and traditional dress of animal skins through his performances. Some Ndebele ‘traditionalists’ appear on programmes on the state broadcaster dressed in skins, speaking Ndebele and English, but making a hybrid identity statement. I mention the Ndebele of Zimbabwe as a people with strong Zulu historic links, who conveniently appropriate, reject or distance themselves from the image of Shaka in particular whenever they so wish (Freund 2008). Nonetheless, my first visit to a “cultural village” that purports to feature ‘traditional culture’ was to the Murewa Cultural Village in Mashonaland in 1986. The village was adjacent to the

United Methodist mission school⁴² where I did my Advanced Level Secondary schooling and it showcased Shona ‘traditional’ culture, especially local dances such as *mbende* or *jerusarema*.

I remember that Murewa Cultural Village was a structure with some thatched huts, and interestingly (perhaps typically Zimbabwean too), a library full of scientific socialism and pan-African books, including some popular Heinemann novels of African writers, which I enjoyed reading. Those books were for me the major attraction to the structure. The village and performances there were not universally accepted within the Murewa community especially amongst the intellectuals. My history teacher, the late Mr. Arnold Chikazhe, used to scoff at it; “Culture can’t be contained!”⁴³ I remember seeing local villagers dancing traditional dances, wearing the black and white shorts and skirts and bodice, and black or white ‘tennis shoes’ which traditional dancers normally wear in Zimbabwe, but which are not ordinarily worn in everyday life, and some flayed animal skins-skirts. Even in primary school when we danced the traditional dances teachers and pupils alike mutually chose those cheap calico black and white skirts and bras for girls, and shorts and striped and flayed skirts for boys as simulated ‘traditional’ clothes. Honestly, I never bothered to query from whence this attire representing the old dress styles emanated, but I suppose it must be some artistic person from the early twentieth century in collusion with officials from government departments of Education and Culture. The representations were thus institutionalised and their production, reproduction and circulation was then encouraged and promoted through traditional dance competitions of which the Chibuku Neshamwari Dance Competition remains a major annual event. Even in lower secondary school at St Ignatius College, a prestigious Jesuit boys’

⁴² Murewa High School is about ninety kilometres East of Harare, Zimbabwe’s capital city where I was born and grew up.

⁴³ At Murewa the idea of the Cultural village was exciting and discomfoting; exciting because I was now studying Cambridge Advanced level history and my teacher was a radical firebrand who scorned the whole concept of “housing culture”. Culture has no boundaries. But much as I liked his democratisation of culture when he said culture was everywhere and ordinary and could not have a house built for it, I was still inquisitive and wanted to see what was happening there. I went to see when I heard drums playing vigorously and I enjoyed the choreography and left. After all, was not Murewa known for its *jerusarema*, its subversive and sexually suggestive fecundity *mbende* dance called *jerusarema* to camouflage it for the ears of the disapproving missionaries who wanted local blacks to stop all things pagan, barbaric and unChristian? The people loved their dances so not to disappoint their Christian preachers they spoke openly and in front of them of going to *jerusarema* after the sermons. They sounded like committed converts who continued to practise the good word even in the absence of the pious shepherds of the Holy Lord (Vambe 2004; Zhuwarara 2001).

school 24 kilometres east of Harare, in 1984 my form three class performed a ‘traditional’ dance-cum-play for Parents’ Day. I introduced the dance. The entire cultural skit was a montage of dance and simulations of snippets of spirit-possession, plus a hotchpotch of whatever we thought was ‘traditional’. We all contributed and taught each other songs and dance moves. I contributed the lead song I learnt during a spring holiday when I visited my mother’s rural relatives who took me to séances. My class of 1984’s Open Day presentation was billed as *Jiti Special*, and I should say it was a hit with everyone.

Most of my class mates were town boys, a mixture of working class and emerging elite black middle class and did not often participate in ‘traditional’ culture, especially that we were also a Catholic school that recruited a large number of the best of youth from the laity and across religious denominations. The dance was farcical but successful. The youthful priest and headmaster, Fr. Anthony Berridge S.J., directed the cast. Nobody saw incongruities in a Jesuit school producing such a potentially spiritually ‘subversive’ act on a church school stage, playing the same set of drums usually played to accompany Christian hymns. We played the drums with the typical ‘devilish’ zeal characteristic of so-called ‘pagan’ rhythms very much unlike the slow, pious steady and dignified rhythm that best synchronise hymns. Our dance was hyperactive and hysterical. *Jiti Special* was raunchy, fast and energetic. It was fun make believe and we all enjoyed it. After we changed back into our Sunday best clothes and mingled with our visiting parents and siblings we felt like ‘stars’ glowing in the attention when they recognised us off stage.

The next time I visited a simulated cultural village was close to two decades later, in South Africa. I should say I was a tourist then, although I tried to conceal my tourist identity by looking studious and scribbling down some notes of the proceedings. I have always suffered some discomfort at the idea of identifying myself with the image of a tourist. At one time the idea nearly sounded despicable to me, having grown up within the discourses and rhetorics of leftist Marxism that not only scorned petty bourgeoisie pretensions, but some ‘affected’ methods towards enjoying leisure. The opinion and feeling was not helped much with my undergraduate reading of Kizito Muchemwa’s “Tourist” (1981: 17). The way tourists are disdainfully depicted as not belonging, as alien to Zimbabwe, hence the image of the intrusive ‘Other’ is quite poignant:

They came into wilderness clichés in suitcases

Talismans they cherished as shields against this
Poisonous madness.
Lurching in the dark aggressive landscape of alienness.
Looking for recognition of this my dear land
They saw no familiar hills and heard no familiar songs.
Holding onto their fetishes they defy time and distance
Send lines across oceans to tap the energies
A faceless past economically nourishes wilting roots
Dying on the rocky exposures of understanding through fear.
They surround themselves with jacarandas and pines,
Build concrete walls around their homes,
I think next time they will import snow, change
The seasons to humour their eccentric whims.

Already other trinkets hoot their mockery of our lives
Proclaiming the raucous assertiveness of their makers
But this land, this; the spirits dwelling in it
Will not yield to such casual dwelling in it
Will not yield to such casual intimidation
Neither will it give out its rich sad secrets
To half-hearted tokens of transparent love (Muchemwa 1981: 17).

My revulsion at the image of the tourist was only further compounded by lyrics that again likened Cecil John Rhodes⁴⁴ the “architect of Rhodesia”, with a tourist or an alien. Another Zimbabwean poet, Richard Mhonyera, captured the arrogant and victorious deportment of Rhodes’ statue that until the end of colonial rule in 1980 stood in what is now Samora Machel Avenue. Mhonyera (1981: 18) writes;

A perpetual sinewy military strut
Whose feet know not the ground
It stands on (sic).

⁴⁴ Cecil John Rhodes formed the British South African Company that colonised the area now called Zimbabwe on behalf of the British and his company ruled until 1923. It is from his name that modern day Zimbabwe’s colonial name – Rhodesia - derives.

I am a child of the struggle. My brother disappeared during the liberation struggle never to be heard of again. I understood colonialism in a very direct way because I had lost a close one, and witnessed many other ugly things associated with life in an urban working class area with not a few known adult activists imprisoned by the regime - one was a parent to a girl class mate. Tourists were intricately and simplistically part of the system of colonialism and degradation. They represented affluence and how the 'whites' came to flaunt their ill-gotten wealth right in front of our eyes. I should confess that the cynicism of my A Level history teacher, and the negative image of the 'tourist' that I was to meet later, overshadowed the magical excitement I felt as a teenager on performing *Jiti Special* without politicising the act or thinking that I was an optical commodity for some voyeuristic gaze. It was the nagging discomfort and silent reservations of 'acting' the 'tourist' that I initially had to endure when I embarked on my first encounters at Zulu and Bushman cultural villages.

Visiting Zulu Cultural Villages

The PheZulu Experience

The first cultural village I visited in South Africa was PheZulu at Botha's Hill in the Valley of a Thousand Hills in the outskirts of Durban. It was on 24 September 2001 during a weeklong spring semester break when most students at the then University of Natal travelled to various destinations, including back to their 'homes'. However, several of us from Culture, Communication and Media Studies (CCMS) working on cultural tourism projects embarked on a research trip. I had been in South Africa for less than six weeks, having arrived to pursue post graduate studies on the back of a study leave contract from my employers at Midlands State University (MSU) in Zimbabwe.⁴⁵ I was invited to go on the PheZulu trip, along with visiting American media and international relations master's student Kyle Enevoldsen, the South African quad of Ntokozo Ndlela, Vanessa McLennan-Dodd and Caleb Wang - all Masters students in cultural and Media Studies - and Caleb Wang's fiancée, Cindy May Green, an honours student in Media and Communication. Cindy May so graciously drove her car meant for four people, albeit packed with six people.

⁴⁵ The contract was unilaterally reversed by MSU administration only a year later scuttling my research, in particular the 2002 trip to the Kalahari Desert. I had to hastily return to see that my young family still had food on the table. The research project led and coordinated by Professor Keyan Tomaselli called which has carried different names over the years and is now known as "Rethinking Indigeneity" is largely premised on excursions to meet different communities in their locale and understand how they articulate their cultural identities.

All of us were doing work on cultural tourism and intended to enhance own field experiences. Much as we were brought together by the needs of research into areas of common interest, I should point out that this first trip was significant in inducing into me a sense of research community which CCMS systematically shaped and developed thereafter. It was within the precincts of CCMS research that I found myself in the motley company of a white American, three white South Africans, two of them young women, a young black South African Zulu woman, and myself a black Zimbabwean. The multi-racial, cross-cultural and mixed gender composition of my research team on this first journey was to remain a constant characteristic of all my future fieldtrips. It was reassuring for me on encountering our research subject communities since I would have experienced ‘difference’ and ‘sameness’ already in its disparate levels within my research group; I was well-equipped, so to speak, to meet newer peoples from amongst the Zulu, the *≠Khomani*, the Duma, and other South African communities.

During the PheZulu trip Ntokozo Ndlela’s presence was especially important, as she was a young single Zulu woman writing her Master’s dissertation on Zulu representation at cultural villages and was looking for possible contrasts and comparisons between the PheZulu and Izintaba cultural villages on opposite sides of the valley (see Ndlela 2002). She could ‘interpret’ the activities and visuals to us upon request. She also made me feel that we were not exactly snobbish foreign tourists looking for an exotic ‘Other’ in the Zulu. One of ‘them’ was also one of ‘us’. Caleb Wang was more interested in the concept of pro-poor tourism for the economic development of marginalised communities (Wang 2002).⁴⁶

On my first arrival to South Africa in August 2001, I had flown to Durban and missed the magnificent green hills that I now marvelled at during our drive to the Valley of a Thousand Hills. The topography was breathtaking; the rolling undulating green hills and the clear blue skies were exhilarating and I benignly anticipated PheZulu. I was not particularly fussy about

⁴⁶ Nearly all of us from the group that visited PheZulu on this day have written something connected to Zulu cultural villages or cultural tourism. Enevoldsen wrote a critical piece about his experiences as an American student cum ‘tourist’ visiting South African Zulu cultural villages (2003). Vanessa Dodd who later married and took the surname McLennan-Dodd has a number of writings especially on her visits to the Kalahari Desert (McLennan-Dodd; 2003a; 2003b) I have co-authored an article on Zulu villages, focusing on Simunye cultural village (see Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004).

‘authenticity’. After all, Ntokozo, who had visited Izintaba cultural village before, was ambiguous about what such cultural villages presented as ‘reality’. I had already met several urban Zulu, most based at the university who spoke the language, but behaved like any urbanites I know from elsewhere. I was only interested in PheZulu at least for its aesthetic presentation, but I was not going to split hairs on ‘authenticity’. I also would not be one to be too fussy about authenticity given my own literary and fiction background where reality is virtually anything that is constructed, including the surrealistic.⁴⁷

Caleb was the only one in the group who had been to PheZulu before. Kyle wanted to know more about where we were going and what to expect. Caleb did his best to explain and build confidence. I sensed that he was straining to explain that this was a “simulation” (Baudrillard 1983) of Zulu cultural life, which was not precisely representative of real contemporary lived Zulu life. I was going to appreciate the spectacle for what it is, I promised myself. Nonetheless, I still was curious to see and experience the place, its people and its architectural structure. In a way, I had a feeling similar to one experienced by someone going to watch a movie or play whose author and style of work is familiar. The few chance encounters with Zimbabwean traditional presentations and re-presentation were my template; hence I assured myself secretly that I was not going to be totally surprised by novelties.

⁴⁷ I studied literature as an undergraduate and was exposed to dramatic performance traditions of all kinds. By the time of this visit I had already written and published award winning social realistic fiction which imitates quotidian Zimbabwean working class existentialist culture and would easily accept any creative constructions as long as they were not outright insulting or demeaning (see Mhiripiri’s short stories in Chihota and Muponde (eds)(2000) and College Press (ed)(2000). In many ways my own fiction was a buttress of whatever I was going to encounter. If these performers were ‘fake’, what right did I have to judge on the exactitude of their representations when I too struggled with similar creative concerns and was prone to similar criticisms from others. In a way I was an outsider, a tourist, but a kindred spirit for the creatively inclined even at remote Zulu cultural villages. The problem of my creativity, I should confess, has troubled the writing of this entire thesis because at times I have nearly converted the research data for fictive productions, but then what is not fiction if even philosophy is predicated on fictive knowing. For instance, Alan Badiou (2005, 124) argues that philosophy as a discourse “organises the superposition of a fiction of knowing and a fiction of art.” If philosophy imitates science and art, disciplines that involve ethnography would not be spared the fictive foundation of lived and perceived ‘reality’. Thus, for me converting my ethnographic experiences and observations into serious fiction (in a generic sense) was very tempting in the instance of my Kalahari encounter with Silikat, which when I wrote I used the working title “It must be fiction”, and considered submitting it with my collection of short fiction tentatively called *Temple of Rights* that has just been accepted by Chimurenga Chimes publishers. This also testifies the liminality of fiction writing from ethnographic writing, and continues to pose traditional philosophical questions of what is fiction and what constitutes reality. However, the stronger pull to gratify myself through meeting the ‘rigors’ of academic scrutiny was also attractive while at the same time I felt I would not ‘betray’ well meaning people such as Keyan Tomaselli who have sourced monies from the National Research Foundation with the intention of producing ‘conventional’ academic papers.

PheZulu cultural village consists of a gift shop selling some curios and postcards, an adjoining lodge facility and the “village” proper. We paid our entry fees in the gift shop, but waited a while because we arrived earlier than the afternoon’s scheduled performance. The village manager told us that our tour guide would come to fetch us when the performers were ready. We hung around the store a bit. I looked at the post cards, several with the Zulu in traditional dress; quite a number showed posing bare breasted Zulu maids. I did not buy anything at the time although my colleagues collected some crafts; I was still not quite sure about how I should act. Previously, and back in Zimbabwe, I had bought Zimbabwean ‘traditional’ artefacts which I use as wall hangings and display sculpture. Finally, the guide arrived and led us to the village. He was dressed in slacks and a souvenir T-shirt from the Mike Tyson versus South Africa’s Frans Botha boxing match held in Las Vegas several months earlier. He was not particular about the ‘authentic’ Zulu traditional dress, and was surely a man of our times. I was not concerned about what constituted the authentic. The place of tourism, after all, is not always a determinant of authenticity (Salamone 1997). With wider reading I have since discovered guides are part of the ‘mimetic’ process; they are the link between the exotic ‘Other’ and the visiting ‘Same’ (Taussig 1993).

The structure of PheZulu, on first glance, was quite different. The *izindlu* (homestead) was not in the traditional circular form that I anticipated from my readings of ethnographic materials, but was placed in a more random fashion, perhaps because of space constraints (Hamilton 1998; Laband 1995; Wylie 2000). I wondered if this more linear settlement was a vestige of the very colonial structure used both for control and administrative purposes (Mamdani 1996).⁴⁸

The accompanying members of our tour group were an Indian couple apparently taking in the sights and culture of South Africa on holiday. We spoke to them very little, as they seemed uncomfortable with communicating extensively in English. However, they appeared enraptured at the unfolding exposition of Zulu culture and remained quite consumed by the ensuing displays.

⁴⁸ In Zimbabwe the rural linear formats predominant even in the postcolonial dispensation have since adopted an anglicised vernacular name – *rayini* (line). It could then be so-and-so’s line, for example the *raini rekwaMhiripiri* – the line belonging to the Mhiripiri family.

First, we were taken to a thatched hut - a kitchen - and all the visitors sat inside, men on the right side to the entrance and women to the left, reportedly as per Zulu custom. The guide told us the kitchen in Zulu culture is a woman's domain. We were introduced to a woman, who demonstrated, while kneeling, the process of grinding corn on traditional grinding stones, to produce *imphuphu* (corn flour) used to make porridge. She also demonstrated the process of making soured milk in a hollowed-out gourd. Obviously there was not enough time for this 'ethnographic' activity for us to see a detailed step by step preparation of sour milk, hence the reality was simulated and condensed for exhibition purposes. The existence of a 'script' was inevitably apparent when an activity such as souring that requires at least a day is 're-presented' in 'edited' time.

Our guide was anxious to get us involved and to ask questions as evidence of our interest. From the kitchen demonstration, we were led to 'discover' more about the representation of the 'Zulu way of life'. Another highlight was the visit to the *induna's* (headman's) hut where once again men and women were instructed to sit on different sides following 'traditional' dictates. The chief was introduced as a 'real' chief, a claim that I was to hear of all such personages in all the Zulu villages I visited in South Africa. Whether the 'authentic' chiefs at the commercial villages actually held such a leadership position outside of the simulated cultural village was anyone's guess.⁴⁹

At PheZulu after being shown different implements in the Zulu *indlu* (hut), such as hunting and battle armaments, grass mats, and *imbuzi* (goat) horns, we engaged in a discussion of 'typical' 'traditional' Zulu lifestyle such as sleeping habits and spiritual practices. We were finally participating in the dialogue and our guide was openly glad. The guide is also a

⁴⁹ Unlike my co-researcher Kyle Enevoldsen's (2003) presumption that "it is certainly not beyond possibility for a Community leader to be working in a cultural village", I personally believe the real chiefs in real life would find these virtual acts demeaning and a distraction to their actual chiefly functions as they attended to tourists, hence only role players would take these positions⁴⁹. This was theatrical make believe that nonetheless recreated its own new form of reality. It is true that on two future occasions the personages of chiefs were quite imposing and impressive so that you would believe that these people lived this life every day.

At Shakaland, the chief's hut was big and spacious and he received us with majestic decorum, sitting dressed in his leopard skin regalia and he was big, as if to augment his regal comportment. Again, at the very remote Simunye two hundred kilometres north we had a nearly similar impression. Simunye is not as grandiose as Shakaland forty kilometres south which is obviously a much more capital intensive investment of choreographed work, and has a bigger cast that gives the impression of a larger settlement and a 'rural city' of sorts. There is industry and commerce at Shakaland, men and women working on their artefacts as tourists mill through and buy. One has the feeling you are walking through a large rural city with its own dusty mall. After all it is supposed to be King Shaka's palace and should also exude that majestic effect as compared to PheZulu which in comparison is a small hamlet.

performer in the cultural tourism script. His apparent satisfaction with our participation could be testimony of the dissipation of front stage anxiety experienced by a performer in encounters with unpredictable strangers who constitute the viewer/audiences (Rojek 2005). By seeing his 'clients' opening up he appeared to be gratified.

Just as we were to view the final drama performance and the last three music and dance sequences, a group of primary school students on a school outing, made up mostly of Zulu children from suburbs in KwaZulu-Natal, filed into the amphitheatre noisily with their teachers and chaperones and took their seats. They were special guests of the village that day but seemed to have arrived a bit later than expected. Their presence seemed to induce some bustle and life to the performances, energising the spectacle. The final show was a drama and dancing performance. The performance was intended to help us understand how the Zulu live by means of a representation of various courtship practices, dance, music, and spiritual activities. The performance started with our guide giving a short synopsis of different social customs and practices, as well as information concerning the spiritual dimensions of Zulu culture. A few of these examples were re-enacted by a team of performers.

Bums, Tits and Cultural Discomforts⁵⁰

Zulu maids, body displays and cultural tourism

At PheZulu courtship scene was enacted followed by cast members presenting a special song and dance celebrating a successful courtship. Some of the performers had bare breasts, a cultural practice signifying that they were unmarried virgins. Several schoolboys sniggered and jibbed at the performers whose breasts were exposed. The schoolgirls looked bashful and less noisy. The spectacle in front was supposed to ethnographically represent 'the Zulu', including the 'Zulu' children constituting part of the day's audience presumably still personally experiencing chaste puberty. Bare breasts were a sign of purity and innocence.

The schoolboys' reaction was incongruous for a group of black children from KwaZulu-Natal. They probably were genuinely amused children from families not practicing these traditions. I concluded from their own dress and behaviour they were children from peri-urban or urban areas familiar with the mainstream South African culture identified with

⁵⁰ The sub-heading alludes to Arnold Shepperson's (1994) article that is similarly titled and also gives focus to the human body and its signification possibilities.

school uniforms, book satchels, neo-Christian sensibilities about nudity and the human body, Coca-Cola and football, and many other postcolonial existential realities that are part of contemporary African conditions. Enevoldsen (2003) concludes that the schoolboys at PheZulu “didn’t understand their own heritage, and it was no surprise; (since) much of it was destroyed years ago by the political, social, and spiritual colonization of South Africa by Europeans”. Again, naked breasts might not be an outright novelty to the same pupils, but it is re-enacted in spaces where the ‘Zulu’ youths are ambiguous about how to respond in a cross-age, cross-cultural and multi-racial environment amongst ‘strangers’. The strangers’ gaze seems to instil self-consciousness that may arouse discomfort in people who ‘ordinarily’ take certain behaviour and body displays for granted.

The public display of breasts for ceremonial purposes, including virginity testing, draws conflicting reactions from diverse people (see Lambert 2008). African-American feminists who cherish and exalt in the signification processes of retracing and reconnecting with their African (Zulu) heritage suffer discomfort at reconciling with the body displays. They prefer a renegotiated Africanness that gratifies their own perceptions interwoven with notions of liberation and private control of the (female) body. There are ambiguous attitudes to most rituals and ceremonies predicated on female gender and the exposure of certain parts of the body.

Certain Zulu rituals and ceremonies such as the *umumelo* (coming of age for girls) and the Reed Dance entail the public appearance of Zulu maidens dressed traditionally; hence it is usual for girls’ breasts to be exposed then. For the latter ceremony only tested and confirmed virgins participate and parade before the King. Subjecting females to virginity testing is contentious with some feminists, amongst them expatriate African Americans who largely pride themselves in retracing their ‘roots’, viewing the tradition as demeaning and an invasion of personal privacy. The tradition has nonetheless acted as a tool in ‘enforcing’ values of chastity among unmarried women hence protecting them from contracting HIV and AIDS (see Lambert 2008). This is in the context when South Africa is one of the countries worst affected by the pandemic. Even amongst the Zulu there are conflicting views about the ceremonies as attested by one informant. Nomfundo Mbata, a 25 year old media studies university graduate and aspiring scriptwriter and poet from Durban, says she would not attend the Zulu ceremonies because her Zulu Christian family would not allow her. Though they are avowed Christian, Nomfundo is disappointed because she has since realised that the older

family members have been all along hiding from her their involvement in ritualistic cleansing and traditional ancestral religion. She confessed her confusion due to the discovery, but also swore she is strong enough to face the world on her own personal terms: “I can’t run away from what I am”. She again insists: “What is happening is all imagined but it is real because people are doing it”. The ceremonies are no longer “the real thing” because people are simply doing it to flaunt their wealth. It was never meant for that. Even the *umumelo* is about how much you can splash money around in your neighbourhood, and I don’t think I would do that”. Nomfundo interestingly believes she is inspired by the spirit of Shaka Zulu, which is the source of her sense of independence and self-assertion. “Outsiders have told me this for a long time but people in my own family have taken long to realise this,” she said (Nomfundo, interview, 26 August 2008). Nomfundo’s image of Shaka is drawn both from Zulu oral traditions and the popular media which has since recuperated Shaka from a bloodthirsty savage tyrant to a proud pan African idol and icon (see Hamilton 1998; Wylie 2000).

The Zulu monarch, arguably a key custodian of Zulu culture and traditions has been involved in controversies concerning display of certain body parts (Mthethwa 2008: 6). In a 2007 message to maidens preparing for the annual Reed Dance (in)famous for hundreds and thousands of Zulu maidens showcasing their virginity through carrying *umhlanga* (reed), barebreasted and in skimpy traditional skirts that expose thighs and buttocks, King Goodwill Zwelithini banned female visitors from wearing pants to the traditional ceremony, saying the modern attire clashed with traditional Zulu culture. Ironically a year later the same custodian of Zulu culture was quoted banning bare buttocks: “This year I don’t want any maidens coming to the reed dance ceremony without their bums covered....There are times whereby maidens have to sing and dance and we end up seeing body parts we’re not supposed to see...” (Mthethwa 2008: 6). The King suggested that bums must be covered up using traditional attire for the purpose called *umutsha* (sarongs) (see Appendix 1 for picture and story).

The Reed Dance is now a world renowned event and the presence of salacious voyeuristic gazes cannot be disregarded as inconsequential. The ostensible feelings of discomfort uttered by the King and reconsiderations of the maidens’ comportment might be a response to the gawking gazes that do not visualise the body spectacle with the ‘innocence’ and ‘asexuality’ it entails. The gaze mediated by global media institutions is ever present during ceremonies

and rituals that were a ‘national’ Zulu affair, but have since been commodified and sexualised. The ritual (visual) embodiment of Zulu decency, chastity and propriety thus need revaluation putting in context both the Zulu “Same” and “foreign/outsider” sensibilities.

In some Western discourses, nudity is often associated with salaciousness and pornography, the commoditisation of the female form, and sexual exploitation (Tomaselli 1999)⁵¹. When African-American tourists complained about the ‘nudity’ of Zulu maids, Vincent Sikhakane the assistant manager of Simunye dismissed them outright as “mad” (interviewed by Tomaselli 1999). Both Sikhakane and the prudish African-Americans were failing to appreciate each other’s cultural differences, and to respect them for what they are.

My Encounters with Zulu outside Cultural Villages

In my encounters with people in South Africa I met many who claimed to be Zulu outside cultural villages. Most were university students and others were casual acquaintances met in public transport and leisure places such as taverns and night clubs. My impressions about these people were not very different from the findings made by other contemporary scholars on the Zulu (Dlamini 2001; Kaarsholm 2006a). They could be identified according to political affiliation with most aligned to ANC and IFP and very few were aligned with the liberal, mainly white-led, Democratic Party.

The ANC group was the dominant and openly cosmopolitan of the Zulu youths and they were willing to engage me on the Zimbabwean problem in a much more sympathetic way and they could even reflect on the future of South Africa in relation to the land allocation across ethnic and racial interest groups. These were the people of the moment and they were tactful in their approach, not too assertive because they were in KwaZulu-Natal but making conversion inroads by presenting the attractive new lifestyle. Some were in the student leadership such as Thumi, and perfectly understood that the IFP ANC politics was still a volatile issue in the outlying areas of the province. We were still receiving news of inter-party violence with whole families murdered and homesteads torched allegedly by feuding IFP and ANC members as the latter tried to penetrate IFP ‘traditional’ strongholds. One Thola from the

⁵¹ While Tomaselli (1999) has made observations about how some Western people associate nudity with sex and salaciousness, I ought to acknowledge that this is not a universal cultural perception/attitude of all ‘Westerners’. France, Germany, Belgium, and many other parts of Europe have very different views on the female form and topless if not nude beaches are the norm.

rural areas around Ulundi was proud of both the IFP and Zulu culture and he told me in discussions that in their village they still voluntarily dress in 'traditional' clothes of animal skins and go to the Chiefs or Kings Palace to dance as warriors are expected to do. They honour their culture and respect their traditional leadership in such ways. He grew up accompanying his father to these ceremonies and he did not feel they were now outdated and anachronistic for him now as a university educated man. He would be quick to list down the people who wear traditional clothes occasionally, especially to suit an appropriate occasion. These people included IFP, ANC and Zulu monarchy luminary personalities such as Jacob Zuma, Mangosuthu Buthe and the current Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. Thola came from a rural area and his longest encounter with modern urbanity was his sojourn at the University in Durban and he had never left the province in his lifetime. However, he loved Kung-fu and was a black belt holder, though temperamental, I should say he was indeed disciplined as I never saw him fight against other students whether in his sober or drunken states, something not quite unusual in the Jubilee, a students pub.

Khanyesile respected Zulu traditions and wanted certain things done for her in order to increase her standing and esteem amongst her own people. For instance, she was born and grew up in KwaMashu a former black township in Durban, but she wished her family had enough wealth to conduct the *umemulo* ceremony for her. She told me that this is a ceremony that involves some relative lavish spending on a girl child coming to maturity and a party is host for people to celebrate her entry into womanhood. Much as she wanted this done she still could not have it her own way as her single mother was preoccupied with fending for her other siblings. Such ceremonies are still done in the black residential urban areas and it is not unusual to see a troop of young women dressed in colourful traditional clothes, with breasts uncovered, and later in the evening they drive to a trendy exclusive spot in downtown Durban to end the night with dance and drink, now dressed in fashionable contemporary clothes, preferably popular designer labels. Khanyisile had a German boyfriend and she had once visited Frankfurt during one semester break courtesy of Jan. There was a high possibility of her marrying a non-Zulu as she dated another non-South African after breaking off with Jan. She also loved night-clubbing, drinking Smirnoff Ice and Black Label lagers and smoking Peter Stuyvesant light cigarettes. She could speak about *ekuhlonipha*/respect of tradition and culture much as she was not that conventional, and when I asked her whom she really thought she was she simply said "She was Zulu because she just was". In her playful moments she

referred to me as a *Kwerekwere*⁵², and she always pleaded with me to invite her to my home in Zimbabwe, especially when my wife visited Durban and she took a liking to her. Sdu was an arts student who was born in apartheid South Africa but was taken to the USA by her professional parents. She particularly felt alienated from the Zulu and South African black environment because she was not proficient in the language, and did not exactly know how to conduct herself before her relatives. Her position was worsened by her parents' divorce, and she took to drugs and drink. Ironically she particularly was enthralled by the picture book on the *Zulu* (de la Harpe 1998), which she believes is a reflection of 'authentic' Zulu culture.

David Coplan (2002) has shown that there is no essential and authentic Zulu personhood today. What is "traditional" is also debatable because traditions are not fixed. Coplan for instance notes that contemporary Zulu *maskanda* musicians equally play Zulu 'traditional music', even though they blend not only the music but the dress and choreography with things traditionally not associated with the Zulu. He writes:

Electric guitars, basses and keyboards, penta- and hexatonic scales, and staggered linear melodic polyphonies, shiny drum kits thumping out rhythms of centuries-old stamping dances; leopard tails, antelope skin or string skirts with sneakers and spandex underwear, miraculously beaded headdresses and Kangol caps worn backwards, rhythmically bouncing, nude (insouciant rather than provocative) breasts, antiphonal lead vocalists and a chorus of back-up singers, synchronized hip swinging and stealthy Afro-Christian step-dancing: all are part of Zulu traditional popular music (Coplan 2002: 104).

This eclectic description perhaps best describes the ambiguities of any type of Zulu identity today. Busi Mhlomo who has a blend of popular traditional music and sophisticated Afro-jazz fusion revealingly has recorded a superb album called *Urban Zulu*. Just as music types in South Africa are attempting to flourish both locally and abroad by broadly incorporating African-American models while retaining and developing a local cultural stylistic character, the same can be extended to people's lifestyles nearly throughout the country. I never met a South African who seemed totally enclosed and too parochial as to be unaware of other peoples and cultures elsewhere, even countries such as mine. Even in the rural environs of KwaZulu Natal reference was made to "Mugabe" on hearing that I am a Zimbabwean.

⁵² Kwerekwere is a derogatory name for foreigners, especially Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa and Botswana (see Nyamnjoh 2006).

What Zulu at cultural villages are doing is not very different from what musicians are doing. Some are very self-conscious in their creation of the self such as musician John Sithole of the Johannesburg traditional ensemble Umkhonto ka Shaka (“Spear of Shaka”) a dreadlocked Rastafarian who performs in antelope and leopard skins (Coplan 2002: 113). The international multiracial British reggae group UB40 first consulted a *sangoma* and were assured their show would go without bad incidences. This was a multiracial and multiethnic group of British superstars seeking ‘traditional’ African divination for a peaceful and joyous show in a post apartheid South Africa⁵³. This can only be an attestation of global multiculturalism and respect for the diverse syncretic world cultures and accorded equal status hence lived out and experienced existentially by individual global citizens.

Good Tourists and Bad Tourists

There are proper ways of behaving for tourists, especially First World tourists moving in Third World contexts (Allen & Brennan 2004). Though rare, it is not unimaginable to encounter uncouth and insensitive tourists who are unbearable and provocative, or those who make unreasonable demands or try to spoil the fun for everybody they meet during an organised group excursion. There are some formal specifications of the virtues of Good Tourists. Good Tourists are defined and qualified using a combination of moral and political theory. According to Garth Allen and Frank Brennan (2004: 183):

A responsible tourist, as part of being a virtuous human being, will know how to act properly in tourist settings, will want to act in the right way in whatever contexts they find themselves in and will have the ability to act successfully in their chosen ways...The Good Tourist will draw on deep-seated values that muster universal acclaim when identified as informing choices or other forms of decisions, and will have sufficient information and inclination to make the right choice in often complex situations.

The eco-tourism business puts demands on the host to be courteous and hospitable, and the tourist obviously wields relative power over the hosts. The hospitality industry is designed in such a way that the pleasures and security of the visitor are top priority; hence it is assumed the economic and political power of the visitor is stronger than that of the host. During the

⁵³ The consultation with the sangomas was recorded on video (*UB40 Live in South Africa*).

tourist encounter tourists hence have a responsibility to be consciously civil, polite and reasonable, and desist from abusive or provocation behaviour that belittles or demeans the hosts.

Echoing the 'Good Tourist discourse', Rory Jacobson who runs the Lesedi crafts shop spoke fondly of African Americans who travel to Africa to reconnect with their 'roots'. They 'enthuse' and marvel about their "introduction to tribal life ... in our modern age", and this they do in a nearly "tangible" way (Jacobson interviewed on 7 November 2001).

Tomaselli (1999) writes of the marked differences of tourists putting some 'national' characteristics to groups, although these are debatable since universal racial, ethnic or national traits are always difficult to substantiate absolutely. These observations might in turn be a reflection of Tomaselli's own biases, whatever they might be, against some specific types of individuals who coincidentally presented themselves as Italians on a particular occasion. I quote extensively from Tomaselli to provide an example of the 'good tourist' and 'the bad tourist'. Tomaselli wrote about the encounter with some irritating Italian tourists at Simunye. While there were a group of seven Italian tourists, two of them behaved very rudely to the guide Vincent Sikhakane making bawdy jokes and statements that are ordinarily rude to any Bantu man, especially when someone makes innuendos about sexual interests to a Zulu man's daughter or sister. It is taboo to discuss sexual or courtship matters directly with the supposed father-in-law. Even marital negotiations protect the father-in-law from direct contact, and mediators play a significant role. The Italians were reportedly "obsessed" with issues of courtship, marriage, and other sexual relations to the point of interfering with other tourists' need for variety. Eventually one of the Italian women, hitherto, very quiet, then stood up, joined the guide Vincent who was explaining beads and other items at the *umuzi* (homestead), and insisted (in Italian) that Vincent be allowed to return to the "scheduled programme", the explanation of the items on the mats (beads, spears, musical instruments, and so on). The sentiment was endorsed by the South African tour guide, also in Italian. Another "testy interchange" occurred in Dutch between the guide and the two Italian brothers. He told them off in no uncertain terms that they should stick to the programme and give time to the others to ask questions. Vincent told Tomaselli that whilst this kind of behaviour amongst tourists was "rare", Italians were usually more animated than other nationalities (Tomaselli 1999).

My research team and I always tried to be “good” respectful ‘anthro-tourists’. It is in this spirit that we visited PheZulu, respectful of both ethnographic actors and other tourists or visitors. It is only pertinent that I discuss comprehensively what I observed at other cultural villages, and what was spectacular and critically intriguing there. A historic background to some of the major tourist ventures visited is important here.

Background history of Shakaland and Simunye Cultural Villages

Tourvest’s heritage lodges particularly boost the international reputation of the corporation.⁵⁴ It is the Zulu warrior experience, according to Charl Van Wyk (managing director of Protea hotel destination, Shakaland), that draws the tourists two hours’ drive north of Durban where Shakaland stages martial dances and ethnographic skits of ‘Zulu people at the Great Kraal’ (Carton & Draper 2008). The welcome brochure advertises a place that serves as “an enriching experience affording you a better understanding of the Zulu nation, its people and their intriguing customs”.

At a nearby Tourvest establishment, the Protea Simunye Zulu Lodge, another kind of “primal and timeless...magic” is said to await visitors (see Appendix 2c). They can ride on an ox-cart to their accommodations and drink at the Cattle Station Pub, where they learn from their printed guide that they stay under the “protection of warriors of the Royal House”. The tourist is offered a palette of “fascinating cross-cultural” choices originally devised by Barry Leitch, who built and operated Simunye before Protea Hotels took it over. The idea for Simunye, Leitch recalled in 2004, was born in the 1980s, when he struggled to carve out “space in white South Africa” for “the Zulu cultural experience” (Carton & Draper 2008; 593-594).

To grasp a better insight into the cultural villages Shakaland, Simunye, and Lesedi, there is a need to know something about these tourist ventures’ founders, Kingsley Holgate and Barry Leitch, especially the latter. The Zululand farm-boy Leitch spoke isiZulu before he learned

⁵⁴ According to the Tourvest 2007 Annual Report, Tourvest’s activity and adventure based businesses did well on the back of the growth in inbound tourist arrivals and the buoyant domestic market. Lesedi and Shakaland showed year on year revenue growth of more than 30%. Lesedi was to be expanded by a further eight rooms during the course of 2008 to a 38 room establishment in order to take full advantage of the growing interest in groups and conventions.

http://www.tourvest.co.za/financials/2007/TOURVEST_ar_07.pdf

English. As a schoolboy, he spent holidays with his surrogate AmaBiyela family in their homestead near the White Mfolozi River. Prince Gilenja, then the AmaBiyela patriarch, accepted Leitch as an honorary son whose name was not Barry, but Mkhomazi, after the Mkhomazi River that, like Leitch's creative energies, could flood without warning. In this oral world, Leitch claimed he absorbed more 'priceless' lessons than any formal education could afford, including masculine bonding with Zulu age-mates near the cattle dipping tank, where they acted like "young bulls", squaring off in stick fights, and competing for the affection of girls. Years later the AmaBiyela patriarch would endorse the establishment of Simunye (Carton & Draper 2008: 593-594).

Leitch is a Cape Town university anthropology graduate who started his career with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) where he designed documentary programmes, among them *Jikelele*, the first live television broadcast in isiZulu. He then joined the film industry and participated in the making of *Zulu Dawn* (1979), a movie about the battle of Isandlwana and a sequel to *Zulu* (1964), which featured Michael Caine (as Lt. Conville Bromhead) and Mangosuthu Buthelezi (as Zulu King Cetswayo). With a relatively comprehensive television and film curriculum vitae, Leitch landed a job as first assistant director of the mini-series *Shaka Zulu*. The series were criticised in some quarters as it emerged on screen as economic sanctions and cultural boycotts further ostracised apartheid South Africa, but in other sections *Shaka Zulu* was praised profusely⁵⁵, and has since seldom been absent from TV screens (Carton & Draper 2008: 594; Shepperson & Tomaselli 2002, Tomaselli 2003).

⁵⁵ Carolyn Hamilton (1998: 173) notes that in a number of American cities protests were organised and the series were condemned as "fascist", "violent", "historically inaccurate", and "racist propaganda". In South Africa critical articles appeared in *Drum* magazine and the *Weekly Mail*, publications with a predominantly black-readership. Tomaselli argued that *Shaka Zulu* endorsed apartheid discourse that held that blacks are 'different' and should develop in their 'own areas', safely out of white civilisation (Hamilton 1998: 187). *Shaka Zulu* being then virtually the only visual rendition of the Shakan period was contested with the KwaZulu Bantustan leadership under Mangosuthu Buthelezi seeing the movie as an endorsement of their leadership. Dan Wylie (2000: 245) writes that the popular image of a savage despot is recreated in the TV series showing that "conventional iconographies of raw African savagery, crude superstition, and epic storylines are not overturned by new technologies. For him the film embodies almost old myths. Nonetheless, other readers of the movie now see it as a signifier of the process of struggle for a new hegemony in South Africa, in which the image of Shaka was "harnessed to a project that squarely confronted political transformation" in which the African pre-colonial past and indigenous political and social structures were not only valorised, but became symbolic instruments to make sense of the evolving present (Hamilton 1998: 187-206).

Leitch entered into a partnership with Kingsley Holgate, a businessman-adventurer who owned a rural store with two names, KwaBhekithunga and KwaPhobane. Holgate was already popularly known as an honorary isiZulu nicknamed Nondwayiso (the Lily-trotter) because of his large feet. The two successfully sought television contracts for which they were well positioned with Leitch's SABC connections. They did a follow up to *Shaka Zulu* – the lack-lustre series *John Ross*. In 1987 they converted into a 'cross-cultural centre' - Shakaland - the land which they bought earlier to serve as a base-camp and movie set of Senzangakhona's royal homestead during the making of *Shaka Zulu*.⁵⁶ The film set originally built to simulate the homestead of Shaka's father but later known by the emperor son's name is clear testimony of Shakaland as hyper-real simulacrum, and the willful reproduction of popular culture ethnicity by cultural entrepreneurs. Unlike its other competitors in the ethnographic exhibition business Shakaland from the outset did not purport to offer tourists "the real thing", but rather the film set (Hamilton 1998; 198-205). The 'village' is, however, often advertised as a film site, rather than a true-to-life depiction of Zulu heritage. Marketing and advertisement brochures always remind people of the filmic origin of the 'ethnographic village'. A billboard of the same blazing orange-lettered icon that divides each segment of the television mini-series *Shaka Zulu* now emblazons the gate of Shakaland cultural village. This is to reinforce the artificiality of the site whilst inviting memories of movie viewers to accept the structure thereafter as 'familiar' territory. The technique seems to immediately work because as my research team for that excursion drove into the cultural village the emblazoned sign invited exclamations of recognitions from those of us visiting for the first time.⁵⁷

Shakaland cultural site

Shakaland best exemplifies the hyperreality that Baudrillard writes about concerning (post)modern life, and how perceptual reality is in essence a copy of a copy. According to Baudrillard (1983: 1) "the simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth – it is the truth which conceals that there is none. The simulacrum is true". Thus in a cognitive sense there is no 'reality', or that reality is an imitation (but is still reality). Baudrillard (1983:5) goes on to say "to dissimulate is to feign not to have what one has. To simulate is to feign to have what one hasn't. One implies a presence, the other an absence....Simulation threatens the difference

⁵⁶ Senzangakhona was Shaka Zulu's father.

⁵⁷ The research team for the tour to Shakaland and Simunye consisted of Keyan Tomaselli, Samuel Lilievre a post-doctoral French scholar, Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, Lauren Dyll, Michael Francis, then doing their MAs and myself.

“true” and “false”. Between “real” and “imaginary””. While not insisting that what was represented at Shakaland was authentic Zulu precolonial structure as such, there is a corresponding inference to that effect. Thus there is always a conflict of what’s ‘real’ and what is ‘not real’, the ‘imagined’ and the ‘simulated’. The film-set that was retained for the resort is “a cross between an enlarged diorama and a theme park” (Hamilton 1998: 189). Elements of postmodern sensibilities and reinvention are revealed in the “star” goat, a real goat for that matter that appeared in one scene of the film *Shaka Zulu* that would be found grazing at Shakaland. The goat was called William C. Forager, a play on the name of the television series’ director William C. Faure. To show that the film set was more important as recreated art, than the representation of Zulu authentic culture, the goat was presented for its accomplishments rather than as a “typical” feature of the Zulu countryside. The guides seem to be eager to introduce beside the architectural film-set, any other person who acted in the movies and that would be present on the time of the visit and tour (Hamilton 1998: 198-205; Marshall 2003: 115-116). Tourists enjoy this cross-referencing from filmic text to an ‘ethnographic presence’ where those who have watched the TV series are enthralled to move into a ‘familiar’ territory. Shakaland best represents a site for movie-induced tourism in South Africa, and is only comparable to how tourists make connections between the Kalahari and *The God’s Must Be Crazy* (Marschall 2003: 115; Riley, Baker & Van Doren 1998; Tomaselli 2001). Tourists love the referential filmic elements of Shakaland; hence the venture initiated by Holgate and Leitch remains one of the most prized ‘cultural villages’ in South Africa⁵⁸.

The personalities of the two founders were important in the establishment of Shakaland. On one hand, Holgate contributed marketing knowledge and personal charisma to the partnership, choosing not to take the lead on matters of staging Zulu culture. He was reluctant to appear in Shakaland’s dramatic acts alongside Leitch. On the other hand, Leitch preferred an array of clothes fusing Zulu and Swazi designs, as well as embroidered trousers, *imibondwe*, favoured by Zulu male migrants who could not wear ceremonial skins in the city. One could argue that Leitch’s attire emphasised the cross-cultural and multi-racial character of the new imagination of Zuluness. His attire also manifested the way Leitch imagined African cultures as colourful, dynamic, porous and hybrid. Those who saw him perform report that he donned some of these outfits when mirroring the chesty movements of the ‘*inkunzi* (bull) warrior’ dance, which he mastered in childhood with AmaBiyela playmates

⁵⁸Once again the Tourvest Annual Report for 2007 best attests for the popularity of not only Shakaland but Lesedi in Gauteng.

around the dipping tank. These performances serenaded guests at twilight, as Leitch maneuvered himself so that he silhouetted against the blazing fire in the *isibaya*, the central pen where his Nguni cattle were kept at night. Leitch told Carolyn Hamilton in an interview that he and Holgate behave “in the Zulu fashion. We don’t conduct ourselves in a white fashion” (Carton & Draper 2008: 594-595).

Touring Shakaland

In many respects Shakaland offers a holiday package similar but better to those of its competitors. The accommodation provided in the deluxe bungalows was certainly more luxurious (and more expensive) than that available anywhere else (Hamilton 1998: 189). My research group fell into that larger clientele who failed to avail ourselves to the full range and elite offerings of Shakaland partly due to the limited research funds and other exigencies⁵⁹, although we had alternative cultural village resident experiences at the more costly Simunye. The same concerns restricted us from staying at Lesedi in option for the modest boarding like quarters at Hartebeespoort. Hamilton (1998: 187-205) has written comprehensively about the Shakaland history, design and experience, and she gives insight into those spaces and experiences that were inaccessible to us. She has also given a standard step by step elaboration of the tour experience and its basic narrative and visuals.

My experiences and observations of Shakaland do not seem to differ markedly from those of previous visitors who wrote critical material about the experiences of visual performances and displays (Hamilton 1998; Marshall 2003). My CCMS research team together with other casual tourists congregated in the *boma* (enclosure around a firepit) to meet a guide who gave a short lecture on Zulu history and culture. The guide then led the way to the homestead, instructing us to each pick a stone which we would be requested to spit on and throw on a growing mound of similar small stones. Just close to the main entrance of the converted film-set our male guide paused at the base of a cairn of stones and asked us whether we knew what

⁵⁹ We visited Shakaland as a stop-over destination on our way to Simunye. I remember Tomaselli mumbling to me about the exorbitant prices, and that we had our lunch booked for at Simunye that our only experience of Shakaland was the guided tour. We also preferred the comparatively comfortable abodes at Simunye than the cheap dormitory accommodation often preferred by school parties at Shakaland. In fact, Simunye was conducive to our research purposes because it gave us the opportunity to reflect and discuss theory and methodology at the Dip Tank Bar, a facility that probably would not be easily found at Shakaland unless we opted for the conference rooms which again would be an added cost. Our research methodology often includes sessions of group discussion and reflection while on tour, and these moments are also recorded and transcribed for future use.

the mound represented. There were some in our group who knew and they explained, and the guide affirmed. He said we were facing an *isivivane*; the stone pile that grows as travelers spit on stones and toss them onto the heap in order to ask for spiritual luck and guidance. The guide spat on his stone and threw it on the mound, which he encouraged all his guests to do. I did not spit on a stone and throw it onto the *isivivane* as instructed, just daring to secretly resist and subvert the narrative and expected performance. The guide was not particularly checking on who followed the ‘instruction’ or ‘advice’. Although I am ‘superstitious’ in that I accept the para-normal exists, I often do not like someone else to initiate the invocation of the para-normal world on my behalf, thus rendering me somewhat vulnerable. As an individual ‘anthro-tourist’ I still insisted on personal ‘freedom’ and freewill to resist the presented cultural text, choose what I wanted from it, or just observe nonchalant.⁶⁰

From the *isivivane* we were shown a typical ‘traditional’ Zulu homestead, but told that in the contemporary Zulu villages structures slightly vary. There were other people in the village who seemed to be going about with their ‘everyday’ business, but who were nearly all dressed in traditional regalia, apart for the guide and the visitors. Women were grinding millet and making traditional craft items (basketware, pottery, beadwork). In one smoky hut we were told about *izangoma* (traditional diviners/healers) and *inyanga* (herbalists). In the last biggest hut built more in the mould of a theatre we were introduced to a pot-bellied ‘chief’ who host us to beer drinking served by bare-breasted maidens.

Zulu militarism and the popular imagination

Zulu dramas and dances simulate courtship, divination and heroic battles, stick fight metaphors, interspersed with clan and self praises. These are very much Zulu archetypical genres. From my comparative observations the most vigorous stick fights and martial dances were performed by the medium-sized cast at Simunye. One dance depicted a fierce struggle between Zulu and opponents armed with guns. As one row of gallant Zulu warriors was shot dead a second line of dancers/warriors leapt over the fallen to resume the fight (Fieldnotes, Simunye Cultural Village, 2-4 May 2002). This dance alludes to the martial encounters

⁶⁰ My strong feeling of self-determination, though not totally devoid of ‘superstition’, explains why I have never consulted a *sangoma* (singular for *izangoma* – traditional diviners/healers) in my life. I also always do not forward chain-letters that threaten with misfortunes or doom to me if I break the chain. Though I did not cast my stone, I did not expect to meet any harm on this particular stretch of my visit. I had prayed to my God as usual when I embarked on the fieldtrip, and I continued to pray for safety and satisfaction.

between the Zulu and the European settlers, of which the Battle of Isandlwana is historic because the British suffered a defeat against the Zulu⁶¹. Isandlwana in particular fired the popular Western imagination right from the time it occurred and was promptly reported in the world leading media and newspapers. The Zulu thus earned their imagined identity as a terrific majestic force admired for their valour and bravery by their opponents who in turn relied on their own technological superiority and courage to vanquish a proud African group. The narratives and demonstrations of military prowess at cultural villages provoked in me a mixture of awe and revulsion.

I read about Zulu bravery and historic feats before I visited the Zulu ethnographic villages I experienced ambivalent attitudes towards the people. I reflexively realised I suffered emotional and cognitive conflict when I interacted with the martial image of the Zulu. Dichotomies of ‘sameness’ and ‘otherness’ were inevitable, yet in some instances there was no direct easily distinguishable ‘othering’ as I was the ‘Other’. I could not identify with the ‘romantic’ glorious Zulu history as a Shona speaking Zimbabwean.

On one hand, from a collective perspective of historical ‘Shona’ memory, people of Ndebele (Nguni) origin share the ambiguous identity of ‘historic’ foes, and the ‘ethnic’ rivalries, jealousies, tensions and hatreds with people classified Shona are documented. The Zimbabwean Ndebele have a known Zulu link, having fled from Shaka’s Mfecane. When they migrated north of the Limpopo under Mzilikazi they wrested land, cattle and women from the vanquished ‘Shona’ groups. I belong to the Shona ethnic group of Zimbabwe, who in the nineteenth and twentieth century endured two colonial intrusions in different guises and of different magnitudes from two groups, one Ndebele and the other British. The Ndebele

⁶¹ Soka Mthembu from Simunye plans to start his own cultural tourism venture which would probably compliment the Simunye cultural menu. Soka plans to exploit the Battle of Isandlwana in a unique, resourceful and innovative way. The Battle of Isandlwana is a particular site and moment of pride, but instead of going to the actual battle site, Mthembu intends to introduce visitors to descendants of the *impis* (warrior battalions) that fought the renowned battle. The Biyela clan is such a distinguished family; hence they are a key resource for the project. Their inclusion in the project is thus justified; “A lot of unsung heroes that fought at Isandlwana are from our area, the Biyela clan...to this day our grand fathers still carry the praise names of those regiments that fought the invading British”. Incidentally, the local Zulu court falls under the presidium of Inkosi Biyela, and visits to his court will be arranged upon request, just as visits will be organised to wedding and coming of age ceremonies “should they be available in the area” at the time of the visit. In Soka’s plans the imagined past is counterpoised with the present realities to co-exist as a seamless quotidian experience without contradictions. That is the life as it is lived and imagined, and to think or wish otherwise is to dream beyond the fantastic. The cultural experience on offer will now include narrative predicated on popular factual history, especially the martial encounters between the Zulu and the British.

settled in modern Zimbabwe's south-western areas with their capital at Bulawayo. They established their hegemony amongst vassal chiefs in nearby areas stretching as far as modern Masvingo (formerly Fort Victoria). Some of these subject chiefs caused the Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893 when by trying to delink from Ndebele authority they stopped paying tribute to King Lobengula (Mzilikazi's heir) because whites had now settled in the area.

The Ndebele raided and attacked the Shona people in the Fort Victoria, with a directive from Lobengula not to fight or harm any white people. Nonetheless, the raid disrupted white business and enterprise as Shona, largely Karanga people, were killed or scurried and scattered and did not turn up for work (Omer-Cooper 1987; Samkange 1978). It is ironic that the 1893 war was fought over the Shona. The Shona, like the Bushmen, have also been called pathetic and outright indolent (Parpart 2007: 105-109). To describe the supposed pathetic nature of the Shona, a white missionary said he was prepared to kill all adults of that ethnic group who were 14 years and older. Colonial officials and early white missionaries believed that for the black people to adopt white settler culture and accept a second class status in the colonial status quo, black people's values and belief systems in ancestor veneration needed to be violently uprooted and/or manipulated. For instance, Father Biehler, a white priest at Chishawasha seminary during the 1890s, proposed a radical cultural onslaught on the Shona people in a way that would have virtually exterminated this people if it had been applied. In January 1897 Lord Grey the colonial administrator to whom the grand proposal had been submitted responded:

Father Biehler is so convinced of the hopelessness of regenerating the Mashonas, whom he regards as the most hopeless of mankind, that he states that the only chance for the future of the race is to exterminate the whole people, both male and female, over the age of 14! This pessimistic conclusion...I find hard to accept (Vambe 2004: 1; Zhuwarara 2001: 13).

The colonial authorities admired martial societies, and the Zulu of South Africa and the Ndebele of Zimbabwe fell into these categories. Notwithstanding fears for their own security, the British confessed admiration for these groups and the list can be extended to include the Maasai of Kenya. The loathing for the Shona as a distinct ethnic group is apparent in descriptions that regarded them as 'a dirty⁶² cowardly lot' while the Ndebele were praised as

⁶² The historical trajectory of discourses of dirt is not, of course, restricted to how it was used within the colonial era. In the nineteenth century, the Ndebeleised 'the Shona word *tsvina* (dirt) to describe their antagonists as *chiTsvina*, 'dirty people'', deriving the word from the Shona's purported habit of squeezing and cleaning

‘bloodthirsty devils but a fine type’ - which might have extended the ‘favoured’ Africans some respite from emasculating colonial practices (Ranger 1979: 3; Parpart 2007: 105). These praises presumably were taken seriously by the Ndebele because during the anti-colonial struggle in the 1960s some Shona nationalists complained that the “ZAPU⁶³ leaders were belittling the Shona as ‘natural cowards’ while trumpeting Ndebele bravery” (Parpart 2007: 105-109).

My knowledge of history cannot permit me to enjoy the Zulu martial spectacle ‘innocently’ and for the sake of the show, without the recollections. As a Shona I ‘instinctively’ feel wary when Nguni military prowess is extolled although I have befriended individual Zulu and Ndebele people. My fears are not unreasonable because as a student at the University of Zimbabwe I knew of incidences of ethnic tension with talks of *panga* (knife) fights in which the Ndebele were easily provoked into producing the knives as re-enacting their archetypical personality of being a violent martial group. When I see these dancers, there is always that

animals intestines that they prepared as cuisine (Burke 1996: 25–26; Kahari 1997: 70)). The discursive constructions of a binary of African purity against colonial dirt is one that can be traced in a variety of Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front’s (ZANU-PF), and Robert Mugabe’s vilifying statements about the contemporary Western world. The Shona are amongst that group of people’s who were formed as a ‘generic’ group in the early twentieth century, alongside the Ibo of Nigeria, previously these distinct ethnic groups did not exist but were anamorphous loose groupings of people sharing more or less similar dialects such as Chizezuru, Chimanyika, ChiKorekore, and ChiNdau amongst other minor dialects (Appiah 1992: 107).

⁶³ Zimbabwe African People’s Union – the unified liberation party before the split away group Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1963. ‘Tribalism’ has been implicated in the protracted anti-colonial struggle (Martin & Johnson 1981; Sithole 1999). In the postcolonial stage the ZANU PF government which was predominantly Shona found itself pitted against a largely Ndebele opposition party ZAPU and recalcitrant white interests some of whom preferred to relocate to apartheid South Africa rather than co-exist with blacks in the new dispensation. Suspicions were rife and there was espionage and sabotage especially with the frontline states all opposed to the South African apartheid regime. Ironically, what erupted in this context was ‘black on black’ state-institutionalised violence in the form of the ZANU PF government waging a war which exterminated many Ndebele civilians while ostensibly stamping out South African sponsored acts of dissidence and sabotage in the Matabeleland and Midlands regions. What followed is now a well chronicled genocide which Mugabe has acknowledged was the nation’s “act of madness” (Alexander 2006; Harold-Barry 2004). In retrospect it might be argued that tribal hatred and suspicions exacerbated an unsettled historic period, and the state failed to regulate and properly administer difference as Preben Kaasrholm (2006b: 2) observes:

Societies on the African continent have experienced major crises of violent conflict, war and genocide and the actual modes of conducted governance in individual countries have indicated serious difficulties in arriving at ‘consolidated’ forms of democracy or peaceful regulation of difference and contestation. Coinciding with the upsurge in democratic transitions, sub-Saharan Africa has provided the scene for spectacular experiences of social disorders disintegrating, sometimes to the point of what has been described as ‘state failure’ or ‘state collapse’...In countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe where multiparty constitutions were agreed, power-holders resorted to destabilisation and violence to avoid or stall concessions.

constrained part in me. I suspect that much as the Britons, for instance, admire the martial Zulu they still secretly fear the prospects of being disemboweled by an *assegai* (short stabbing spear) in a ‘real’ battle. However, when the Zulu actors at cultural villages boast about their warlike qualities, such as ripping open their foes’ stomachs in order to free their souls, visitors might cringe at the thought but take the story-telling as part of the ‘harmless’ narrative. The fact that the narrative is in a leisure space inspires the liminal confidence and security, just as one feels when watching a gory horror movie in a theatre. Hence, conviviality and congeniality saves the day lest we all become paranoid and mistrustful.

My particular circumstances in which I paradoxically find the Zulu both alluring and repulsive is not unique to me. David Coplan (2002) has observed a similar reaction as well. Africans of other groups are wary of militant Zulu ethnic nationalism and the Zulu reputation for resorting to violence as a means of settling disputes. However, Coplan (2002: 114) also observes that the same wary non-Zulu South Africans across race and ethnicity remain enthralled by Zulu performance culture as well as the Zulu’s ability to evoke an image of resilient, autonomous Africa that they also widely accept and enjoy. From a pan-African perspective I was the descendent of the Zulu and all African heroes who struggled against colonialism. My favourite political science scholars that included luminaries of pan-Africanism such as Frantz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, Ngugi wa Thiongo, W.E.B Du Bois and Malcolm X inspired me to identify with all the formerly marginalised and dispossessed peoples across continents. I equally claimed and paid tribute to the combined Shona⁶⁴ and Ndebele Uprising (Chimurenga) against British colonialism of 1896 with the Herero Uprising, the Maji Maji in Tanzania, Bambatha Uprising of the Zulu. Mythic historic figures such as Shaka were equally appropriated as “premier symbols of African achievement and aspiration” (Tomaselli 2003: 91). Although these early ‘nationalists’ failed to withstand European colonialism they were a source of inspiration for the second winds of change in Africa.

⁶⁴ I acknowledge that the group homogenously known as the Shona was non-existent as such before the twentieth century. It is a constructed identity inclusive of diverse social and linguistic groups just as is the case with nearly all other ethnic groups (Appiah 1992; Carton, Laband & Sithole 2008). The group of people now known as Shona did not call themselves such but the name was ascribed to them by the Ndebele and European missionary orthographers (see Kahari 1997: 1 & 70). Hence, Shona according to George Kahari (1997: 1), is an artificial term used by linguists to refer is an agglomeration of mostly but not completely, mutually intelligible dialects found within and outside Zimbabwe.

“Zulu Bank” and the Symbolism of Cattle

At all the Zulu villages I visited, ethnographic details of the real and symbolic importance of both cattle and the byre (cattle kraal or pen) was never under-stated, although in the brochures this aspect of Zulu life tends to be overshadowed by the martial imagery (Sobania 2002). The cattle byre was located at a strategic central position at all the villages, and we were always told that this was to defend cattle from raiders. This meant that the Zulu, much as they are historic (in)famous cattle-raiders and imperialists, were also worried about potential raids and incursions.

At Lesedi, the tour guide referred to the cattle byre as “The Zulu Bank” conflating traditional symbolism within the confines of the modern money economy. At Simunye reference was made to the byre as an abode for the “ancestors” who brood protectively over their descendants. Writing about the symbolism of cattle W.D. Hammond-Tooke (2008: 64) elaborates:

It is in the byre that animal sacrifices are made to elicit ancestral blessings, using the ritual spear that rests on the altar-like ledge (*umsamo*) at the back of the great hut, where other family heirlooms are also kept. There is, in fact, a line of spiritual force that ties the sacred *umsamo* to the world of men, and the byre, the home of the family herd. This symbolic link expresses a profound reality, for there is a fundamental identity between the members of the homestead and their cattle. Household and herd are one, constituting a single community.

For a long time, and just as amongst all Bantu ethnic groups, cattle have been the most prized possession in Zulu culture. Cattle are one of the few goods of real value owned by individuals and they are a major form of capital. I, however, disagree with the perception that cattle are “the only form of capital” amongst the Zulu as put across by Hammond-Tooke (2008: 62), but that cattle are integral to the Zulu is indisputable⁶⁵. I, however, concur that cattle symbolism encompasses both the use of bovine-related images to capture important aspects of Zulu cultural life. The symbolism of cattle in traditional Zulu culture encompasses; the

⁶⁵ Like many Bantu caught up in the processes of urbanisation a considerable number of Zulu people no longer own cattle and reside in urban areas where they cannot keep cattle. This does not disqualify them from claiming the Zulu identity. My own personal experience as a man of Bantu origin is that when I was marrying the cattle symbolism was important in the transactions with my in-laws. They charged me lobola in terms of cattle, which however were converted to money currency. Both my late father-in-law and I were urbanites and had not set up ‘homes’ in any rural area. It would be quite inconvenient to start a herd and farm as befits a pastoralist, whilst we live in towns.

marriage ceremonies where herds of cattle are paid to the bride's family, the milk diet which has kinship implications in that only those in the patriclan (who cannot indulge in sexual intercourse) could share milk, and the motif of the family head⁶⁶ as the 'bull' and avoidance of the existence of two 'bulls' in the same homestead, amongst other symbolism.

It is true that in the contemporary capitalist economy, the Zulu sense of wealth is similar and comparable to the capitalist hegemonic notions of wealth signified by money and capital. Zulu cattle are part of modern economics. Besides being a symbol and currency of wealth, especially when engaging in payments of *lobola* (bride-price), cattle can be directly disposed for payment of other civil compensations (such as village transgressions), as well as be exchanged for cash to flexibly enable the owner to participate in a money economy. In short, cattle are a measure of a man's wealth and are a means of exchange. Cattle are used as: bride price, for meat and milk, cowhide for making clothing. Beef is spared for worthy guests and on occasions such as birth and death celebrations, and weddings.

Cattle, however, have some intrinsic spiritual value that is not ordinarily conferred to any nation's currency or money. Cattle are used as a form of sacrifice in traditional Zulu (and generally Bantu) religion to appease the spirits and ancestors and receive favour. The Zulu believe in Nkulunkulu, the grand deity and creator of all things. Nkulunkulu is a highly revered omnipotent power who is prayed to and reached by mortals through the intercession of ancestral spirits (spirits of the dead that watch over the living). The ancestral spirits favour sacrifices of cattle from Zulu mortals. Therefore, much as the concept of the "Zulu bank" may be comparable to specific monetary exchange and currency transactions equivalent to that of a cash economy, it falls short of addressing the role cattle play in traditional religion and spirituality.

Frontstage and backstage dilemmas

Most cultural tourism occurs frontstage, the public space where the meeting of hosts and guests/tourists is designed to occur. Backstage is the area where hosts and performers conduct their social, leisure and symbolic lives. Backstage is also where the administration and management of the front-stage takes place. At Shakaland and Simunye, in KwaZulu-Natal, and at Lesedi, all owned by big hotel capital, front-stage and backstage are joined. The

⁶⁶ In the Zulu patriarchal system the family head was traditionally often always a male member of the family.

workers and performers live primarily frontstage and tourists are guided through these spaces at scheduled times. The meshing of frontstage and backstage may create tensions as tourists might not exactly know which places are off-limits. At times we discerned irritation directed at us from our subjects/objects of study at cultural villages. At Simunye when there were no other visitors besides our research team as we stayed over an extra night as compared to all the other guests, we crossed from our quarters to the village, where the workers resided and where guest rooms were then empty. We ostensibly wanted to drink more traditional beer. The guide had assured us the previous day that, when a visitor arrives at the *umuzi* (homestead), they are welcomed with beer. No one offered us beer upon our arrival, the performers claiming they were off-duty. We requested an audience with Soka Mthembu our guide during the scheduled tour, who was then ‘obliged’ to entertain us. Despite the welcoming hype of the guide’s script, signs of discomfort emerged, with the Chief inquiring from Soka in Zulu what we wanted. I felt like an intruder. Soka has since been in communication with me since the 2002 visit and has risen through the ranks to be a manager of the now community-managed Simunye venture (see Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004: 255).

It was cost effective for cultural workers to reside at these capital intensive investments with a very high tourist turnover instead of commuting daily. The evening schedules also meant that there was need for workers to stay on site overnight. Some of my informants at Simunye indicated they had homes in the small town of Eshowe, where one of them kept his young family. Interestingly, Patrick Pakhathi told me that his young daughter was enthralled by the presentations at the cultural village and she too occasionally visited to see what was happening. Since during working time Zulu performers reside at the cultural villages, the front stage and back stage are conflated. Relations between tourists and hosts are strained when the former unwittingly (wittingly) do not abide by the stipulated tour schedules, or when they peep into rooms where radios are playing and performers are resting for the day.

At low capital investments such as PheZulu the frontstage and backstage are distinctly separate and workers live elsewhere and commute to ‘work’ at the cultural village where they self-perform. At PheZulu, there were plans to take visitors down into the valley where the families of performers actually lived. The Zulu present themselves as the medium of ethnographic representation when they perform themselves, when they become living signs of themselves, whether at home to tourists, at world fairs or folk-like festivals (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 17-18). Zulu are well-known African self-performers, employed by self-

styled 'living museums'. Lifestyles presented or imagined in the guise of 'tradition' may as well be dead and no longer practiced as re-enacted. In their living sense traditional culture is largely ceremonial, ritualistic, symbolic and is not the everyday domain. This explains why brochures and websites use metaphors such as 'taking you back in time', 'stepping into the past' and 'the timeless past'. At Shakaland the invocation of filmic memory is merged with ethnographic detail to construct a hyper-real experience.

The role of tour guides in the cultural experience

The show focus is on entertainment, with tourists finally being invited to join in by singing or participating in the concluding dance performance. Like a combination of ethnographic museum guide and ringmaster, an African guide functions as an intermediary between performers and audience, explaining what is on display and announcing which act is to follow. His talk is superficially educative, but also entertaining, incorporating small jokes and calculated statements prompting the audiences to laugh or protest. That the guide is himself a mother-tongue Zulu speaker, but is dressed in western clothes and speaks English, hints at the destruction of Zulu culture. By contrast the show presents to the tourists a supposedly real Zulu culture (Marshall 2003: 112-113)

At Simunye the young male guides dressed in western clothes and spoke faltering English were our intermediaries. They 'mimicked' the dress and discourses of the visiting Other, and interlinked the visiting 'Other' with the local 'Same', albeit they too intricately belong to the local 'Same', but in miming they inversely are the 'Other' (see Taussig 1993). Vincent Sikhakhane a former tour guide and cultural village manager at Simunye explained to us that the Simunye tour guides wear 'modern' conventional clothes because they are the mediators between the two (Zulu Same and Other) world. Ability to speak in English is a pre-requisite for the work of tour guides, more than the 'mimicry' of the Other's dress. Tomaselli (1999) writes of a tour guide at Shakaland, Richard, who obtained a matriculation level qualification in Durban, and made his tour presentations dressed in the traditional warrior skins, but speaking English. Richard claimed he wore his traditional clothes even in the urban realms of Durban. This is a complex relationship which relies on the liminal differences created between tourist and host, where the tourist still has to see signs and icons that are familiar and reassuring in order for them to accept to be led into the strange 'unfamiliar' where they can be told stories of disemboweling and stabbings with assegais. The introduction into the

simulated orbit of the other has to be mediated, preferably mimicking the 'sameness' brought about by the visitor in order to put them at ease. It is important to note that the intermediaries or the guides who have direct contact with visitors are incidentally nearly always male. The 'self-effacement' of women and their subordination to 'private' spaces even in the 'public' performative spectacle has discursive implications about gender roles and relations in public spaces. There is a reminder of the supposed 'subordinate' laid back roles of women in traditional society, at least with regards to encounters with strangers. Whilst there are instances of female Zulu guides in the CCMS records who also brought their genderised versions of narratives of being Zulu⁶⁷, the guides I met at Simunye, Lesedi, PheZulu and any other village were male.

Tour guiding, opportunities and ambitions

Patrick Pakhathi and Soka Mthembu from Simunye have benefited from their strategic positioning and have established international links and friendships, and have even visited Europe on tours sponsored by friends they met at Simunye. Soka Mthembu started as a dancer but has since risen to become a shareholder in the Simunye community venture. His rise shows that with patience and perseverance the cultural village enterprise has its own roles and grades of ascension, with the dancers probably occupying the lowest level, the guards in the middle structure and the managers in the upper management. Patrick Pakhathi has changed jobs but not the profession since he has moved to Johannesburg to join his brother in the advertising industry where he also dabbles in township (urban) tourism, taking foreign tourists to visit the townships and historic monuments. He has straddled a rural focused simulation of Zulu life and an urban representation of Zulu life which would also need its own separate investigation to ascertain how he presents the multi-ethnic and multi-national realities that constitute South African, especially contemporary Johannesburg townships. Leitch, the former owner, has handed over the Simunye project to the community. However, Soka's ambitions are beginning to take a more interesting perceptual turn (email correspondence, 31 December 2003).

⁶⁷ Keyan Tomaselli reported about a 'feminist' Zulu female guide he once met at Shakaland. She infused the performative script with narrations and explanations that were a radical revolution of what is traditionally said by male guides. She and the male guide set up an interpretive genderised dialogue between them. Tomaselli critiqued this particular guide in a group discussion in which he traced some psychological validation at a personal level by a Zulu varsity graduate who wanted to 'rewrite' the traditional gender discourse in favour of her own perceptions.

Soka gave me sight of a project proposal which includes tours to *shebeens* (informal taverns) in the local rural area adjacent to Simunye, a visit to a modern Zulu rural homestead, amongst other activities which contemporalise Zulu culture. Soka's new idea is a mixture of the simulated 'traditional' Zulu village as imagined/imaged at Simunye, and new existential experiences that actually acknowledge qualitative transformation in the lives of local people. He intends to start his own cultural tourism project, which seems like it will complement the activities and cuisine menu offered at Simunye. Narratives utilising Zulu symbolic practices and beliefs are retained, with the *isivivane* being given special attention. According to the Vuma Mentorship and Tourism Services draft marketing brochure prepared by Soka Mthembu for his intended cultural tourism initiative,

The *Isivivane* refers to a (travel) custom where people, who pass certain areas, begin to build a pile of stones to form a stone cairn. The *Isivivane* records that the person pays homage to those who have travelled this path before and that the ancient and timeless stones placed on the landscape convey traditional and even sacred networks of information.

Isivivane is a traditional socio-spiritual practice rooted in Zulu religiosity. Traditional Zulu religion and medical practices remain an integral part of the ethnographic repertoire hence visitors have to experience a visit to the Izangoma or Izinyanga - "the mediators of the living and the spiritual world" who have also "always been a component of health care" (Vuma Mentorship and Tourism Services⁶⁸ Draft Brochure – emailed to me in August 2008).

Soka wants to ensure that new influences and transformations that have however become integrated in the Zulu way of life, hence are Zulu because they are real lived experiences by local Zulu, include Christianity. Focus is given to The Shembe form of Christianity (a version of the Zionist Christian Church) that holds a special place in Zulu life and is prevalent in the KwaZulu-Natal rural areas⁶⁹. This church straddles the rural and urban environments and has

⁶⁸ This appears to be the tentative name for Soka Mthembu's proposed cultural tourism initiative. He dubs the initiative "community and social responsibility tourism". According to the brochure the venture will offer "A great insight into the day to day issues that affect the Zulu community... located near Simunye Zulu lodge which is now a community project".

⁶⁹ The Shembe church or sect is a version of Pentecostal Christianity fused with Zulu beliefs that splintered from the dominant Church under Isaiah Shembe who is considered a prophet by the followers of this church. Worship is done on Saturday (the Sabbath) and people dress in a mix of traditional Zulu garb (including bare breasted unwed girls) and religious robes in a white stone ring. Women carry miniature spears and shields invoking Shakan militarised roots but the Church preaches pacifism and peace. The ancestors are invoked as

both conflictual competitive but respectful accommodative co-existive capabilities with the traditional religion as embodied in the *izangoma* who are criticised for practicing ‘backward pagan’ beliefs, but are tolerated by church leaders because of their socio-cultural influences. The *izangoma*, in turn, have their reservations about their Christian counterparts whom they view as upstarts. The juxtaposition of the two religious forces on Soka’s proposal reveals how liminal and fluid differences are within traditional acceptable Zulu practices. The whole notion of Zuluness is ‘destabilised’ in Soka’s initiative since there are now apparent concessions to new influences as represented by hybridized Christianity, and perhaps other radical forms of Christianity.⁷⁰

Yet another acknowledgement in practice of the transforming Zulu life styles and leisure spaces is the concept of the “shebeen” in a predominantly Zulu rural area. A shebeen is a family home that sells liquor for predominantly leisure and commercial purposes unlike previous beer sales that were not on a daily routine and depended on need but perhaps were for celebration and family gathering. Shebeens as a phenomenon started first in urban areas as a way of subverting colonial laws that denied blacks certain leisure and entertainment spaces and rights. Blacks were also prohibited from consuming certain types of alcoholic drinks classified as “European” or “Western”, although they were allowed to drink “traditional” brews in their black residential areas and reserves. In typical hybrid style the proposed Soka shebeen excursion will avail to imbibers both ‘traditional’ beer and non-alcoholic beverage *umqombothi* and *amahewu* respectively, and modern lagers as symbolized in the modern quantification “Enjoy umqombothi or a quart of beer and with the locals”.

Soka Mthembu’s Vuma Mentorship and Tourism Services Draft Brochure intended for potential tourists also carries an offer for visitors to tour a formal modern junior school in the rural vicinity. This invitation to visit the school is intelligent enough not to classify the children as Zulu schoolchildren, since they have been universalised as children elsewhere equally representative of the “South African education system”. “Meet the children that walk distances everyday to and from schools to get educated. Please don’t forget to bring some candy. This visit will certainly change your life forever,” appeals and offers the invitation,

intermediaries between a person and God almost in the way saints are asked to intercede in certain Catholic Churches.

⁷⁰ For instance, in my own country most Pentecostal Churches condemn, shun and scoff at any belief in traditional ancestral religion, thereby pursuing a confrontational eradication approach to the former.

again somewhat reassuring the visitor that they are going to meet young beautiful eager to learn children like they would find elsewhere, only that these walk distances every day (Vuma Mentorship and Tourism Services Draft Brochure 2008). Clearly the proposed project has a confluence of the imagined past and its recreation and enaction, its narration and the newer lived realities that are now an integral part of people's lives.

Simunye and the Jungian Nature Effect

Simunye, a declared Natural Heritage site, is located some five kilometres from Melmoth by tarred road and 12 kilometres on dirt road. Simunye lies tucked away in the magnificent Mfule River Valley, in the sheltering embrace of a high cliff. Visitors enter Simunye after travelling either on horseback or on a horse drawn cart, going down rugged and hilly terrain, into a lush green valley with a running river, and the composite effect is like someone entering an untainted and unpolluted natural environment. The ambience is pristine. Simunye evokes the typical Jungian mood of entering into a natural wilderness in order to attain a spiritual regeneration and upliftment (Jung 1973a; 1973b: 1977). In South Africa, conservationists and wilderness lobbyists such as the late writer and romanticist Laurens van der Post, as well as Ian Player, and Barry Leitch, the cultural tourism entrepreneur, have spread consciousness about the ecosystem. Pristine environments are often associated with particular ethnic groups, and the Bushmen and the Zulu are amongst the most popular.

The Bushmen are located in the popular romantic psyche with the desert environs or wilderness, while the Zulu are located in space among the picaresque rolling hills. Simunye was deliberately chosen for its pristine environment. A Simunye brochure states: "We have imitated the swallows and eagles and built the conference centre into the cliff itself, nature has done the rest by creating an ambience which is both primal and timeless" (see Appendix 2c) Critics say modern cosmopolitan people, especially those from industrialised nations, idealise pristine environments and people who 'naturally' reside there because they remind them of their own lost childhood and innocence as a race (Fabian 1990; 2005; Thomas 1994). They are reminded of Rousseau's "Noble Savage" who lives happily in his untainted wilderness (see also Montaigne 1976). Despite the seemingly disparaging and patronising attitude in this stated perception, psychiatrists have indeed acknowledged the existence of therapeutic qualities in pristine environment, and visitors to such places have written

testimonies of the curative experiences (Isaacson 2001; Jacobs 2004; Jones 2001; Player 1998).

The concept of wilderness that gained ground in the 1970s promoted by the late Laurens Van der Post and Ian Player could be traced to the industrial pollution of mid-nineteenth century America of Henry David Thoreau and the emergence of environmental and ecological movements (Jones 2001: 367). Thoreau had written, “In wilderness lies the preservation of mankind’. Laurens van der Post with his experiences in Southern Africa expanded on this and wrote:

The vision of wilderness is not very complicated. We try to give it elaborate definitions, but we all know what wilderness really is, because we have it inside ourselves. We know it is a world in which every bit of nature counts and it is important to us, and we know when it isn’t there...Wilderness is the original cathedral, the original temple, the original church of life in which they have been converted and healed, and from which they have emerged transformed in a positive manner... Follow the birds, the beasts and the fish and they will lead you [to the Kingdom of Heaven]’. ‘Wilderness is an instrument for enabling us to recover our lost capacity for religious experience.’ ‘The original “wilderness man”... exists in us. He is the foundation in spirit or psyche on which we build, and we are not complete until we have recovered him (Jones 2001: 367).

It is no coincidence that a motley group of environmentalists and conservationists also loved the Zulu, and some amongst them prided themselves of being ‘White Zulu’. Laurens van der Post was friends with the eccentric wealthy casino operator, zoo-keeper and ‘honorary White Zulu’ John Aspinall. These Zulu ‘fanatics’ shared a common passion for the African environment and the political cause of the traditional Zulu nation.⁷¹ Ian Player, the ingenious

⁷¹ Laurens van der Post’s biographer, J.D.F Jones, alleges these white Zulu funded Inkatha Freedom Party’s (IFP’s) violent campaigns in the early 1990s, and encouraged the Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to champion for a stronger and more autonomous Zulu state within the larger union of South Africa. Aspinall reportedly once explained, “I stumbled across the Zulu when I read Rider Haggard...I took on board his heroic vision of that people. I like to keep it, but urbanisation has...deracinated and decultured them” (Jones 2001: 367). While Jones’ perception about the relationship between IFP and conservative white people in rural areas might sound pejorative, it is also the perception that was circulated in the dominant media of the frontline states, especially in Zimbabwe on ZBC and the Zimpapers newspapers, which supported formerly exiled liberation movements such as ANC and the Pan African Congress (PAC). What actually transpired in KZN in the 1990s stretching to the early twenty-first century was a civil war, most likely an inter-party war between ANC, IFP, and other forces (see Kaarsholm 2006a). Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s role might also have been grossly misunderstood by forces supporting ANC and PAC especially considering that Buthelezi is responsible for

promoter of wilderness adventures for tourists in the St Lucia areas also belonged to the network of friendship. It is therefore not coincidental that Ian Player signed in his capacity as Vice Chairman of Wilderness Foundation a statement on a Simunye brochure: “Simunye is an outstanding Zulu cultural destination, authentic, traditionally hospitable and comfortable. I believe it is the way we should live in Africa” (see Appendix 2d).

Lesedi cultural experience

Background and history of Lesedi cultural experience

Tourvest’s reliance on Zulu branding prominent at Shakaland and Simunye might have influenced the formation of Lesedi Cultural Village, a tourist destination outside Johannesburg. In 2000, Lesedi was reportedly staffed mostly by people hired in the Shakaland region, most probably because the proprietors Holgate and Leitch employed people they previously knew and trusted from areas which they too came from. Zulu culture thus dominated while other ethnic/language groups (Pedi, Sotho and Tswana) whose histories are rooted in the Gauteng area are overshadowed (Carton & Draper 2008). Management at Lesedi believes foreign tourists are interested in the Zulu because of their glamorous military history which includes the defeat of the British at Isandlwana⁷².

Lesedi is a sister village to Shakaland. It was established by the same set of directors, Kingsley Holgate and Barry Leitch. They made a capital intensive construction at Lesedi, but diversified the focus of ethnic “villages” including the Ndebele, Sotho, Xhosa and Pedi, etc. This village showcases the diversity of black South African ethnic ‘traditional’ cultures in their representational form. The script is obviously scanty on detail about the individual ethnic groups as compared to what is usually gained at any of the villages that focuses merely on one ethnic group. Lesedi compensated on sparsity of archetypical detail beyond the architectural village structures by being grandiose and even hyper-real. The use of modern

KwaZulu being part of contemporary South Africa, as he refused to secede from the union and he never tried for independence – had he done so it would have been separate. Again, much as Zimbabwean media channels, for instance, presented IFP as violent, many IFP members were murdered in the inter-party violence. The importance of the so-called white Zulu in this study are mainly for their considerable contributions to cultural tourism and ecotourism. Even though some white Zulu have been associated with IFP, it is important to also note that the symbolic and cultural significance of the Zulu Nation arguably lies with the King than the political organization which strives to attract people across the particular ethnic group.

⁷² According to Xolani Zungu, the deputy-manager: “We want to showcase all cultures but the foreigners seem to be more interested in us Zulu because we beat the British at Isandlwana” (see Carton & Draper 2008).

scientific technology and acoustics augments the hyper-reality especially when the video showcasing South Africa's multi-racial history is first shown in the auditorium. There is a big screen with audio-visual high-tech 'home-theatre' effects. The video showing prepares the audiences to expect the diversity of South African ethnic life as represented in the various cultural villages that constitute the Lesedi cultural experience.

At Lesedi we met the biggest crowd of 'tourists' compared to any other commercial village we toured. Besides our group of five consisting of Keyan Tomaselli, Elena Bregin, Nelia Oets, Vanessa McLennan-Dodd and me, the biggest group of tourists were Netstar⁷³ clients who came in a double-decker luxury bus. Members of this tour group were mostly white males, some white females and a few black and coloured participants. Most of the Netstar clients appeared slightly tipsy and jovial, possibly celebrating the Christmas mood since the group also had a Father Christmas figure amidst them in typical red and white regalia. Some of the members still had crackers as if they were coming from an end of year party. The guide, in addressing the Netstar group, discussed the married women head gear which is supposed to be permanently sewn onto Zulu married women. The guide showed visitors a new mobile, portable version of the head gear and said culture does not stay the same, but improves. The guests were good-natured and respectful, but did not miss the chance for fun by picking out all apparent ambiguities or incongruities pitting imagined modernity against tradition. They often jokingly interrogated the so-called 'traditional outfits, constantly remarked on the electric wiring of the so called 'gas-lamps', fire extinguishers, the hose pipes and one even stuck his head inside the Zulu huts and said he could hear Radio Metro. One of the female performers speaking into a cell-phone was playfully asked by a visitor, "Who are you speaking with?" She answered: "The ancestors." Yet another person asked: "What are they saying?" Such apparently incongruous moments only proved that 'tradition' and 'modernity' are syncretic and fluid.

Engendered Spaces at Cultural Villages

The cultural villages' performative acts encourage visitors to re-enact imagined 'traditional' gender relations, especially in the occupation of physical spaces. Guides often instruct men and women to sit in separate positions in the ethnic huts. These huts were spacious enough to accommodate a sizeable number of guests to resemble a traditional family, including the

⁷³ Netstar is a South African commercial tourism company.

visitors. At Lesedi the guide instructed both men and women on what they ought to do in the hut. Things were said rather vaguely about men's roles and women's work, in a rather bantering way. In my group at Lesedi there were a few foreign tourists, two Germans, three young black girls from Pretoria, and a South Korean man and woman.

In one of the ethnic huts women were instructed to sit behind the door. Men sat where they were exposed to intruders in order to protect the women, and they also sat on the right side of the hut because most men are right handed thus would carry their assegai in that powerful hand. They could battle easier and efficiently from that side. When we had to leave the hut the guide ordered the men to go out first, probably re-enacting male leadership and patriarchy even in physical movement. One of the black girls asked, "Why?" The South Korean man volunteered: "Men first because we are going out to protect you first!"

Banter was a technique to skirt or evade serious critical discussions of the role of women in precolonial society, which ironically has implications on the contemporary role and position of modern African woman. This was observed not without some level of 'frustration' by at least one female member of our group during the post-tour discussion forum. The bantering tone at Lesedi presupposed everything was role-playing, 'a game', 'a show', but when critically viewed, the subordination of women to men both in status and in physical spaces could be the actual lived reality perpetuated through such imagined recreations of the past. Elana Bregin was particularly sore and dissatisfied by the whole spectacle in spite of its existential superfluous pleasing form and structure. I quote Elana Bregin's ambiguities:

I agree...that it was done quite light heartedly and the guy that was leading himself knew he put the thing that it was role playing, but that was as far as the tourists were concerned. I didn't get the feeling that the actual roles of the women in those societies were just seen as role-playing. And that (was) the feeling for me when he was explaining that it was right that the women should be controlled, that they should not be allowed to do this and not be allowed to do that. I didn't get the feeling that that part was role-playing. And it was just my opinion (Transcription of recorded post-tour group discussion – 7 November 2001).

Women tourists were heard objecting vociferously but fairly good heartedly to instructions to act out in envisioned "proper feminine" ways. They would say they were in a new South Africa, indicating a break with the past not only in terms of a break with apartheid past. Male

tourists were doing the same sort of thing, resisting and subverting the text as presented by the guide. Nonetheless the male tourists across racial lines discovered some validation for the patriarchy and made jokes along the lines of what the women should be doing. Black and white men were inverting the guide's script for their own 'group' fun.

In spite of the insistence by guides for visitors to stay in gender designated spaces these too were subverted by the need for entertainment and the memorable leisure motive was overriding in one instant. The lady partner to the South Korean gentleman had to encroach into the men's section at the Pedi village in order to take a photograph of her colleague posing with the Pedi patriarch. She sought for permission to cross over first from the guide which she was granted. "Oh I'm in a men's area, can I continue to take the photograph?" and the head of the homestead dismissively accented, "Ja, just go on." As compared to the oral detail the performative script was adjustable. The participants could behave in an ethnic manner and also not behave in the suggested ethnic manner to suit the occasion and need.

The female ethnographic performers at Simunye and PheZulu were often silent visuals that rarely talked but enacted ethnographic demonstrations such as dancing, and performing household chores like grinding millet or preparing sour *amasi* (milk). With the exception of the female tour guide who infused her feminist interpretations into Zulu cultural village performances written about by Tomaselli (1999), I did not see a female tour guide in my visits. At Simunye I raised the issue of women's silence in the ethnographic scripts to Dave Wylie, a manager at the cultural village. Our tour group had just been shown a married Zulu woman modeling traditional Zulu women's clothes, and balancing loads on her imposing headgear. Wylie promised he would consider revising the script so that women tell their own story (interview, 2-4 May 2002). At Lesedi the women could participate in the banter and share jokes.

Lesedi and the New South Africa

Lesedi is representative of the spirit of the "New south Africa" although it excluded at the time of our visit representation of Bushmen culture and traditions. Cultural diversity and cross-cultural practices are particularly encouraged at Lesedi, with white people using the venue for weddings in which they at times dress in traditional skins and pose with the "chief" and warriors

(see Lesedi website⁷⁴). After the portrayal of the history of colonialism and strife which includes the township riots and demonstrations, the Lesedi video ends with a note of hope and tolerance symbolised by the rainbow nation and the iconic image of Nelson Mandela. Even in the tours through the cultural villages on entering the Xhosa village, the guides would allude to Nelson Mandela as a boy who would have herded cattle or done something ‘typically’ Xhosa.

The multi-racial performative act at Lesedi

Lesedi offers a participatory multi-racial, multi-ethnic cultural experience predicated on genial Zuluness. Although I was not privileged to witness some of the Lesedi exhilarating showcases in this regard, I have seen on their website photographs of white brides and bridegrooms dressed in traditional Zulu regalia. The cross-cultural and multi-racial emphasis is vivid. Much as there have been a handsome number of “white Zulu”, the Lesedi experience visually appropriates all races as Zulu. It presents what might be classified a post-racial spectacle, where Zuluness at cultural villages includes performative Zulu ordinarily not a ‘permanent’ feature of the village and race is not a principal identity marker of Zuluness.

Industrial concerns at Zulu Cultural establishments

The Zulu cultural villages try to give an impression that they are run on a professional basis with employers rarely divulging issues pertaining to labour relations with management or conditions of service. Since the cultural experience is supposed to be enjoyed as moments of pleasure and leisure delving into labour issues would be inappropriate and is spared the visitors. In Chapter Five which focuses on other self-performers - the ≠Khomani Bushmen of the Northern Cape - it is not unusual for a touring visitor to be entrusted with the political dynamics of the communities and discontentment with specific contractual agreements with certain proprietors of establishments where the ≠Khomani could be contracted. The Zulu guides at Simunye were quite cautious in criticising the management. One informant at Simunye, Patrick Phakhathi, explained that he disliked researchers and some tourists who speak to him as if he were a victim of exploitation by the management. “These researchers always ask how much I am paid or my conditions of service,” he complained. “They lack respect because you don’t just ask a stranger how much he earns or if he likes his job. Even if I have problems at work I don’t tell just anybody” (Patrick Phakhathi, interview, 4 May 2003). He insisted whatever he did was from self-will since nobody was forcing him to work

⁷⁴ <http://www.lesedi.com>

there. This informant has lived to his word, and I was recently informed by Soka Mthembu that Patrick Phakhathi is now doing advertising work in Johannesburg, although he also dabbles in urban/township tourism there (Soka Mthembu email August 2008).

Conclusion

Having presented my experiences at Zulu cultural villages, I continue to do a similar critical appreciation of Bushman visual performative acts at the Ostri-San cultural village in the North-West Province and in the Kalahari, more specifically the Northern Cape of South Africa. My encounter with Silikat van Wyk, a *≠Khomani* artist and ethnographic performer features prominently in the following chapter. The encounter permits me to analyse the relationship between the researcher and the researched, the dramatological front-stage and back-stage, as these seemed poignantly subverted during a ‘classic’ encounter I had with this Bushman performer. Indeed, I reveal too how I was a ‘performer’ in the cultural tourism performative encounter. Cultural villages are sites of visual performances in which tourists are invited to participate at various levels of interaction with their hosts. Performance entails immediacy, involvement and intimacy as modes of understanding, what Dwight Conquergood (citing Edward Said 1978: 36) calls “the primordial meaning of knowledge as a mode of being together-with” (1998: 26). In terms of Tomaselli’s (1996: 37) phaneroscopic approach experiences at cultural villages constitute the first order of signification where an interpreter encounters the living icon by being-there in places and spaces where people are found. The second order would be an indexical encounter in which I read, receive and write texts about the Bushmen, and these texts include *Kalahari RainSong* (Bregin & Kruiper 2004), the photography and the paintings. And finally the third order of signification relates to making intelligibility out of all my diverse symbolic encounters – texts and performances included (Tomaselli 1996: 37). While performances can be ‘textualised’ and subjected to critical study, it is now accepted that performance and textuality are fluid, exchangeable, and assimilable terms with blurred edges and dissolved boundaries, hence closing the traditional ontological and epistemological space between text and performance (Conquergood 1998: 25; Pollock 1998). Performance has expanded the scope for the textual object in scholarship that has been largely text-based, but when performance’s significance is elevated binaries between text and performance dwindle. The text is no longer just a discursive object of

citation, but has the potential of action, “performativity” and “iterability”⁷⁵ (Pollock 1998: 40; Conquergood 1998). The need to challenge the traditional assumptions about texts and performances leads me to deliberately textualise performances and visual experiences at cultural village sites as I have done in the current chapter and in Chapter Five where I consider Bushman cultural performances. For the same reason, later in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven, I intentionally ‘activate’ and use performative writing to appreciate and understand texts traditionally perceived as ‘inactive’ such as still photographs and Vetkat and Riekie Kruiper’s paintings.

⁷⁵ I suppose here by “iterability” Pollock refers to the transience of texts in temporal and spatial terms. As texts are performed across milieu they move across time and space boundaries.

Chapter Five

Contemporary Bushman Cultural Performances

Visiting the Bushmen, visual culture and ethnographic performances

This chapter interprets the arts, crafts, cultural artefacts and orature (both written and unwritten oral stories) produced by contemporary people claiming Bushman descent. Inter-textual and multi-disciplinary methods are applied. It also examines how these people image, imagine, ‘re-invent’ and re-articulate individual and group Bushman identities and sensibilities through their cultural productions. It is worthwhile to note what aspects of cultural memory are being used in the interplay between existential living, strategic survival, exploitation of economic opportunities and social and spiritual regeneration. Oral stories and cultural productions by other ≠Khomani Bushman crafts makers and artists, material derived from ethnographic studies conducted by my research group and me, are also worthy of consideration. I aim to ascertain whether there is a systematic production and reproduction of particular individual and group ideas and sensibilities pertaining to notions of Bushman-ness amongst especially the ≠Khomani in the Northern Cape. This broader consideration will enable me to establish commonalities towards a systematic vision and identity of being Bushman on the one hand, and specific idiosyncratic articulations unique to particular individuals making the same assertions and statements. The present critique is an acknowledgement of “the materiality of culture” through the lived experiences of the ≠Khomani Bushmen. Cultural Studies approaches with their “eclectic methodologies” that include ethnography, semiotics and discourse analysis will help to add insight to an understanding of the contemporary ≠Khomani cultural productions (Gray 2003).

I have met Bushmen in South Africa in different provinces and on different occasions. The various groups in South Africa do not constitute one homogenous entity with a single language. This is an important point which Meryl-Joy Wildschut, the Director of the South African San Institute (SASI), impressed on us during an interview in 2006, especially when it reflects in the unique and idiosyncratic artistic and cultural productions emanating from distinct Bushmen groups. Wildschut observes that few people realise that the different Bushmen groups have diverse and distinct traits. SASI tries to create a broad ‘Pan-San’ movement in South Africa, although at the time of the interview with Wildschut some areas

were not catered for by SASI. These included the Duma⁷⁶ Bushmen in the Kamberg area in KwaZulu-Natal and the Bushman in the Middleberg area in the Cape Province. SASI promotes Bushmen diversity and their differences so that individual communities can benefit from their unique traits in the cultural tourism industry. Communities are urged to make livelihoods from their traditions and art and crafts are considered the tangible expression of a culture - an expression of identity. The people who make arts and crafts are considered not only to be practicing their heritage, but also generating a livelihood and keeping their cultures and heritages alive. The art and artefacts produced by all communities, according to Wildschut (interview, 25 August 2006), are reminiscent of 'past' productions but are not exactly similar – something close to what Nicholas Thomas (1994) refers to as “neo-traditional”. Whilst SASI encourages the sale of the diverse works from the numerous communities, as an organisation it tries not to impose style and taste on the craft makers and artists. For SASI, diversity “adds richness and colour to our cultural lives”; hence Sîsen Crafts run by the ≠Khomani has grown in its own unique way. What SASI is interested in is product development and quality, but the skill itself should be in the community, with elders training younger people. Vetkat Kruiper, whose works are critically discussed in Chapter Seven, is a product of a SASI organised workshop (Meryl-Joy Wilschut, interview, 25 August 2006). The book compilation, *Voices of the San*, also testifies to the diversity of contemporary Bushmen or San groups in southern Africa as a whole today (Le Roux & White 2004).⁷⁷

My first encounter with the ≠Khomani was in early November 2001 at OstriSan in the North-West between Johannesburg and the Sun City tourist resort. I then visited the Kalahari twice. In KwaZulu-Natal, I have visited the Duma people from Kamberg near the Drakensberg mountain who prefer to be called *Abatwa* instead of Bushmen (see Francis 2007). Since the Duma people have survived by hiding their identities (masquerading as Zulu in KwaZulu-Natal) after vicious expeditions to exterminate them over the centuries, they have since been

⁷⁶ They have since been recognised by SASI and there have been attempts to meet with the Duma community. The Duma declined to meet with a SASI representative as they were too busy at the time with jobs away from the community (Mick Francis, personal communication, 2008).

⁷⁷ In this book compiled by Willemien Le Roux and Alison White (2004) members drawn from at least eight different Bushman groups with their distinct languages, or who have since lost any original Bushman language, reveal their contemporary existential conditions in their respective southern African countries. Voices included are from the Anikhwe, the Bugakhwe, the Hai\om, the Ju/'hoansi, the ≠Khomani, the Naro, the !Xoo and the !Xun.

called the “secret San” (Prins 2000). I also observed Schmidtsdrift Bushmen in an ethnographic show at a multiracial Durban Primary school⁷⁸. I was to briefly see some former Schmidtsdrift residents at a new settlement at Platfontein. Due to the nature of my varied encounters with the Bushmen, I will try to present the ethnographic shows as commercialised self-performances of “living museums”, as opposed to the quotidian self-presentations. The concepts proposed by Erving Goffman on “back regions” and “front regions”, or alternatively “front-stage” and “backstage” will be used to try to distinguish my various encounters and their purposes for the researcher and the researched, the observer and observed (Goffman 1959; Rojek 2000: 9-11; Tomaselli 2001b; Urry 1990). In instances where the difference between the front-stage and back-stage is indistinguishable, I immediately point out that distinction in order to qualify the diversion from Goffman’s classic propositions. The ethnographic exhibitions that are consciously staged and located in particular ‘designated’ places are different from the everyday ‘noncommercialised’ practices by the Bushmen. In this chapter, my knowledge and understanding of the Bushmen and their ethnographic displays are drawn from my observations during visits, as well as from video readings of recordings made especially by CCMS researchers, of which one recording was done in my presence (Lange & Nxumalo 2003; Mlauzi 2002a; Reinhardt 2002a; 2002b; Sætre & Reinhardt 2002; Sætre 2002).

I have met ≠Khomani people as individuals or groups in the southern Kalahari at Witdraai, Erin⁷⁹, Welkom and Blinkwater⁸⁰, and at one time I interacted with a contracted group resident at OstriSan northwest of Johannesburg along the highway to Sun City who produced crafts and entertained visitors through self-enactment, dressed in Bushman skins clothes, or not at all for the smallest children, and telling stories. At all these encounters art, crafts and artefacts were available, and at times the opportunity to hear oral stories told was granted. Some of the encounters were in environments directly designed for the tourist enterprise

⁷⁸ The school hall stage was the conventional “front stage” where performances and story-telling were conducted. Bushmen archetypical practises and acts such as dancing styles and fire making skills were performed before pupils, the few teachers and CCMS researchers. All present were also able to buy crafts. Bows and arrows was the most ubiquitous craft on sale.

⁷⁹ These are two of the six farms from the land claim (Grossman & Holden 2002).

⁸⁰ This is the farm where Vetkat, Belinda and a few other ≠Khomani rented an area of land near Welkom to live in peace (see Bregin & Kruiper 2004).

encounter such as at OstriSan and at Welkom in the Northern Cape, yet others were visits to homes where people of Bushmen descent lived their quotidian lives.

The art and crafts offered ranged from leather bags, table covers, curtains, tie and dye ceramics, necklaces, miniature bows and arrows, symmetrically layered coloured desert sand in ordinary jam bottles, and paintings on paper and shales. These arts and crafts were available both on roadside stalls, at individual artists' homes, or at specially designed arts and curio shops at Welkom or OstriSan. I found some of the arts and crafts suitable for largely for popular commercial consumption, but I also found other artworks demanding from me serious thematic and aesthetic attention, especially in the case of Vetkat Kruiper's paintings (Tomaselli 2003).

Bushmen tits' n' bums, sexuality and cultural discomfort at OstriSan

In 2001, guide Danie Jacobs secured an ethnographic contract with the Ostrich Farm proprietor Andre Coetzee to display Bushmen behind the at OstriSan ostrich farming plant. According to Coetzee, "Tourists don't have to go to the Cape to see the ostriches, and they don't have to go to the Kalahari or Botswana to meet the Bushmen...Tourists (can) safely visit such a farm.... En route between the Johannesburg airport and the Sun City" (interview, 6 November 2001). The Bushmen performance area at OstriSan is located behind the ostrich egg hatching factory and the restaurant. The Bushmen's props included a constructed cultural site consisting of a few grass huts, and red soil was imported to the location to create an illusion of environmental authenticity, recreating a miniature and displaced Kalahari Desert, relocated to Gauteng province. This was 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell 1973). During the day the Bushmen sat around their fire, dressed in their traditional clothes, doing their crafts. They were driven back to the worker's farm accommodation in the evening after their ethnographic shows.

Fellow researchers Vanessa Dodd and Nelia Oets met with the Bushmen 'informally' alone on the first day we visited OstriSan. Vanessa and Nelia were more experienced group members with at least one previous encounter with the ≠Khomani community, hence were

not total strangers, unlike (on this occasion), Elana Bregin⁸¹, Caleb Wang and I⁸². The atmosphere was reported to have been relaxed, unlike the next day's visit when I was present (Oets 2003). Oets writes about her fond memories of the first day:

We were 'allowed' to go and meet with the Bushmen informally, watched them manufacturing their crafts and listened to their stories and their accounts of mythical experiences. Isak told us how it came to him that he was to be a seer. He also related some stories of premonitions that he had experienced. All of this fitted perfectly into the mythical concept of Bushmanness. The interactions between all of us that day were very pleasant and close, and the small community seemed completely relaxed and eager to talk to us (Oets 2003: 48-49).

Ironically, the following day the mood was icy and constrained.

The ≠Khomani women seemed particularly uncomfortable to be seen in their traditional outfits, barebreasted, by the *African man* in our group; they crouched over, covering themselves with their crossed arms. The easy interaction of the day before was gone and there was a definite distance between 'us' and 'them' (Oets 2003: 49 - emphasis is mine).

I presume I was *the African man* of that day. There was also another man from my research group, Keyan Tomaselli, a *white (South) African man*. Nelia and Vanessa are white too; *white African women*. Danie Jacobs who acted as our guide during the encounter with the Bushmen, was yet another *white Afrikaner man*. The other 'tourists' who did not belong to our research group were one white male, a stationery and computer accessories retailer from Randburg⁸³, and an Indian couple with a young daughter. It is possible the ≠Khomani women were particularly shy and sensitive about the *male gaze* (Urry 1990) – that is to say all men across the races, possibly excluding Danie Jacobs. In a world where breasts are often seen as

⁸¹ Elana Bregin went on to assist Belinda Kruiper write an autobiographical story based on her experiences with a particular group of the ≠Khomani (Bregin & Kruiper 2004). This book has been reviewed in Chapter Two, and material from it substantially assisted in the construction of sections of my work, particularly Chapter Six.

⁸² Research team leader Professor Keyan Tomaselli has been taking researchers (including students, photographers and journalists) to exhibition sites including the Kagga Kamma site and the Northern Cape, and to Botswana and Namibia where there are other Bushmen communities, since 1995.

⁸³ This gentleman was on holiday, and he picked a brochure somewhere which spoke about OstriSan and as he drove by he decided to pay a visit. "I like ostriches and when I heard there was a cultural Bushman hut or whatever, I thought Ok let's go in and have a look, just pure inquisitiveness", said the tourist (interviewed at OstriSan 8 November 2001).

sexualised, and as signifying erotic sensuality, the nonchalant display of that part of the body is quickly vanishing. Some Bushmen women have since reinvented new ‘traditional dress to cover up those regions (see pictures from *SASI Nuus* - Appendix 4).

Coetzee agreed to an interview after the tour, and he revealed he had always been fascinated by Bushmen and made a detour after seeing the sign about the “Ostrich Farm and working Bushmen”. Isak Kruiper complained that ‘tourists’ did not make an effort to speak to the Bushmen, and on our tour we hardly engaged the Bushmen in conversation. This might have resulted in the constrained interaction experienced on the day. The mediation by Jacobs made our interaction uncertain because he did not particularly encourage ‘tourists’ to ask questions as do guides at Zulu cultural villages.

Perhaps the observation by Nelia Oets is correct that I, a black African man, was the unlikely ‘tourist’⁸⁴ in our motley group of the day, and induced the Bushmen discomfort by my presence. The mood could have been compounded by the fact I could not speak the ≠Khomani self-performers’ languages and had little means to reach out to them and reassure them that I was not exactly disapproving. I speak neither Nama nor Afrikaans, languages spoken by the ≠Khomani. Our encounter thus was purely non-verbal hence my gaze could have been read by the Bushmen women and others as intensely ‘estranging’. I am not sure of my own body deportment on the day, which other researchers can rightly deduce and interpret for its implications, but I am sure I had serious reservations about the display of Bushmen by ‘white’ promoters in an obscure part of the Ostrich Farm. Although I did not behave untowardly, I certainly experienced discomfort, and probably my inner qualms induced feelings of unease into the observed. The issue of voluntarism was paramount in my mind. While I had already seen Zulu self-performers at PheZulu wearing traditional regalia, and the Zulu maidens ‘casually’ going about barebreasted, their confident deportment indicated that they were participating in the cultural exhibition voluntarily and were in

⁸⁴ It is interesting again that in Oets’s writing she excludes herself from the category of ‘tourist’, in which perhaps I would be included for the purposes of the day since I am the ostensible reason of discomfort for the ≠Khomani women on display. Her writing is ambiguous because on one hand I qualify to be a researcher, and thus part of her “we”, yet on the other hand due to my affective presence makes me an “outsider” in some sense. Oets writes about the change of mood on the following day: “This changed the following day when *we* went along on one of Danie’s tours to observe the interaction between some tourists and the Bushmen” (2003: 49). However, in my encounters I accept my complex identity as both researcher and tourist, a composite identity which is best encapsulated by Tomaselli when he writes about “anthro-tourists”. The ability for reflexivity and self-observation (both on the individual and group level) is significant for the academic requirements of our encounters.

control of their lives. The opposite seemed apparent at OstriSan, and my suspicions could have been exacerbated by the prominent roles played by Afrikaner men (Danie and Andre) in the cultural exhibition⁸⁵. As mentioned earlier by leisure and tourism theorist, Chris Rojek, voluntarism is an “imaginary condition of absolute freedom in which choices are made without external constraint”. Alternatively, determinism becomes “the equally imaginary condition of absolute constraint in which behaviour is governed by external force” (Rojek 2005: 23-24). The notions of voluntarism and determinism are predicated on existing power relations, and it might even be economic imperatives that compel weaker ethnic groups to display themselves for comparatively wealthier hence powerful groups. Historically, the power relations between white ethnographic show business entrepreneurs and Bushmen have benefited the former at the expense latter, and some white promoters were even remarkably cruel towards the Bushmen performers (see Lindfors 1999). I might also have been overly sensitive to race relations given that I was coming from Zimbabwe, a country with its own unique colonial and postcolonial race problems. Power cannot only be defined in terms of physical supremacy. Rojek (2005: 24-25) observes that power relationships are many-sided and possess the latent capacity to mobilise actors that are situated far away from their immediate focus of people in direct contact. My political and moral scruples about the relationship between Bushmen performers and their white promoters would then be understandable. From a critical political economy perspective, the Bushmen will be compelled to display themselves due to economic need, until their condition is radically changed and they self-perform for other motives.

Nelia Oet’s concern about the discomfort of ≠Khomani women of the day when subjected to my gaze also demands its own speculation. In my phaneron I would believe that those contemporary ≠Khomani women immediately *identified* with me and felt embarrassed to be seen on display behind a farm where guests would nearly always be whites. But the concept of race is elusive. I am a fairly light-skinned African, and both the ≠Khomani and I could pass for ‘coloured’ in the discourse of colonial racial classification. Such ‘ethnographic’ displays have discursive implications on the motive and voluntarism of the participants, or

⁸⁵ I must confess that due to Zimbabwe’s Frontline state status during apartheid, and the stereotypical image of the cruel, racist and unreasonable *Boer*, which was ubiquitous in the Zimbabwean media critical of the apartheid state, an unmitigated image which also found a way in the popular movies on apartheid such as *Cry Freedom* (1987) (shot in Zimbabwe) and *Sarafina* (1992), I must have had my far-share of prejudices against Afrikaners. In short, apartheid was tantamount to brute Afrikaner supremacy, and the group was supposedly homogenous in the popular imagination of Africans in countries north of the Limpopo.

that they are driven by need and an easy way to satisfy the voyeurism of the visiting social elites who historically are 'white'. I suspect that is what disturbed our encounter on the day, especially since these people were not in the Kalahari but 'hidden' behind an Ostrich Farm. Bare breasts are a controversial highly and politicised and moral issue nowadays because women's breasts and nipples have been sexualised by the popular media and carry erotic connotations. My Zimbabwean Shona and Catholic background will always make me self conscious when confronted in public with bare-breasted women, and men with barely covered buttocks. My deportment on the day might have communicated a discouraging body language statement.

It must be noted that the Bushmen women from the Kalahari cover up their breasts during certain encounters with other people in order to minimise discomfort. One old lady from the Sîsen Craft Project who travelled to Europe to sell crafts informed me that she did not dress in the traditional outfit because of the cold. She also said women are avoiding going about barebreasted and scantily dressed because they are being conscientised by women's rights activists against such public self-presentations deemed demeaning. It might be a case of the hegemonic 'masculinity' finally winning over traditional notions of dress, and 'feminists' adopting the hegemonic project from a convoluted perspective. Women wearing mini-skirts have been abused in the crowded urban bus terminuses of Southern Africa. Again, the high incidence of rape and sexual abuse is also of concern hence traditional dressing is reconsidered and perhaps confined to special ceremonial contexts.

But then again, stage performance, just as all other social performances, are subject to whether it is the "character as performer" is assertive and impressive on any particular day, or whether it is the "individual as performer" who intrudes into the performance 'script' (Rojek 2004). Goffman (1959; 1963; 1967; 1971; 1974) notes that the individual as performer is subjective to anxiety, worry and dread, and is always concerned about the success of the 'show'. The particular discomfiting encounter with the ≠Khomani at OstriSan best exemplified the observations by Goffman about the potential uncertainties and discomfort suffered by the performer when presenting in front of a 'public'. However, Goffman does not put into perspective the observer's own anxieties and discomfort. Goffman presents social order as a continuous and interlinked process of staged performances. In specialised performances audiences are an integral part of the performative act, with or without a comprehensive script in place. Unlike my previous meeting with the Zulu at PheZulu, which I

could describe as somewhat ‘impersonal’ because my research group did not know the actual names of the Zulu cultural performers or their intimate personal history, my first meeting with the #Khomani at OstriSan was comparably ‘intimate’ and ‘personal’ because my research colleagues had made an effort to ‘familiarise’ me with these individuals before I met them. My research colleagues, Nelia Oets, Vannessa McLennan-Dodd and Keyan Tomaselli casually mentioned the names and personal ‘histories’ of the #Khomani who were then grouped at OstriSan as we drove to the North West Province. This meant I was going to meet people whom I expected to get involved with at a deeper level than the ethnographic encounter I experienced at PheZulu, where even today I do not remember the name of a single tour guide or dancer.

Dressing up for ‘authentic’ photography

I met Rosa and Abraham Meinjties again at a spacious farm house they settled in after the land restitution at Erin in the Northern Cape. (Rosa was one of the uncomfortable women from our OstriSan visit the previous year.) When we visited Rosa, she was wearing a slightly torn black T-shirt and an old black skirt. She was smoking. When Vanessa Dodd requested to take photos of people at the homestead, Rosa wanted to change into her traditional clothes precisely for the pictures; we assured her she looked fine. Was she prepared to expose her breasts this time given that she, Lys Kruiper, and the few others showed open discomfort in my presence at OstriSan the previous year? *The African man* was around once again, this time with yet another one of ‘his kind’, Malawian Linje Manyozo Mlauzi, who was video-recording the visit, and perhaps we (black men) were no longer a source of anxiety⁸⁶.

As we stood there with our photographic equipment, notions of the good, ‘authentic’ photograph inevitably came into play: we sensed the deliberate efforts made by subjects on how to appear for the camera in order to communicate meaning. Such ‘staged’ moments unsettle our (researchers) idea of reality, but then most people who present themselves for photographing anticipate the camera gaze: they are intuitively conscious of being ‘watched’ thus present themselves accordingly. The presence of the photographed subject is dependent

⁸⁶ I must point out that these current reflexive comments are only possible after reading Nelia Oets’ (2003) account, and after subsequent visits to the Kalahari. They are obviously part of the performative process of constructing this thesis. I can only speculate on Rosa Meinjties motives for offering to change into traditional clothes that would expose her breasts away from an ethnographic “front region”, but during this particular visit I had already seen several Bushmen in traditional dress working by the roadside and selling their wares. The largest such group was at Witdraai just opposite the Molopo Lodge.

on Alterity and the Other's gaze (Urry 1990). When we dissuaded Rosa from changing into the 'traditional' Bushmen attire, was that a reflection of our critical self-consciousness as researchers; were we divulging our dilemmas with the knowledge of ethnographic production, trying to make friends and not just be researchers, and just be, not altering the subject in their usual 'back region' living spaces?

In ethnographic research, contradictions and ambiguities of all types are always present and poignant. These contradictions might be the reason and motive for contemporary ethnographic study and activity, as they continue to pose moral, social and political questions about the observers and the observed. Do scholars have power to make someone dress up, and if s/he did dress up was it going to be for a casual, friendly visit by acquaintances, or it would be another ethnographic transaction that we would therefore need to pay for? All these questions linger when doing research in the Kalahari. Perhaps the cautiousness and anxiety of the viewers/researchers on proper ways of behaving need more attention, and in a way again proves Goffman's (1959) concerns about "the individual as performer" from the 'audience/observer's point-of-view. By discouraging Rosa from wearing her traditional clothes are we trying very hard not to fall into the claptrap of "Bushmania" (Bester & Buntman 1999)? What role were we performing as visiting researchers, and what were the causes of our anxieties? Were we also looking for the substantiation of the "mimesis" (according to Taussig 1993) of contemporary Western dress and habits by Bushmen in their "back stage" quotidian lives, hence in the process accumulating empirical evidence to use in disputing the notion of the primal Bushman not yet tainted by (post)modernity and other global processes. The awkward feeling I felt in thinking about these problems can never be reconciled as long as there are unequal power and economic relations which would then mean the Bushman does anything for others (including researchers) out of their own personal volition not out of need, and as a form of satisfying the assumptions and preconceptions of the other. I suppose at Erin in the Kalahari, Rosa was more comfortable to change her clothes and pose for us all, including I the African man, this time around because firstly because she was in her familiar home territory where her own people and great grandparents have dressed and conducted themselves similarly. For instances, her great grandparents were part of the Donald Bain's Bushmen that featured at the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg in 1936. Secondly, Rosa had seen most of us before.

The problem of sensory experiences I account here are largely due to an acute awareness of power relations and theoretical underpinnings of identity and ideology. At CCMS theoretical introductions into respective reaches are made before we embark on field trips. The problem of how we depict the Other is paramount in the theoretical literature associated with visual anthropology. Written and photographic representations of the Bushmen have a long history of so-called 'othering'. According to Johannes Fabian (1990: 755), "othering expresses the insight that the Other is never simply given, never just found or encountered, but made". This Other, as an intellectual construction of so-called 'primitive' civilizations, viewed from a First World epistemological perspective, has traditionally been anthropology's very object of study (Sætre 2003: 122; Tomaselli 1996: 89). Whatever revision of perception we created as individual researchers or within the corpus of work produced under the auspices of CCMS would inevitably be reflexive in its awareness of the existing ontologies and their political implications.

Ethnographic artefacts and display in the Kalahari

In the Northern Cape, south of the Park, a typical ethnographic 'front region' is a roadside Bushman *stalletjie* (stall) where there is always a fire burning and craftsmen and women at work, males more often than females. The tools of trade include modern pincers and pliers, and the clothes the exhibitors wear are a mixture of modern and traditional depending on the weather and the mood of the seller. The stall often has a wire line on which to hang the wares for display, such as necklaces and wall-hangers. A small grass hut is also a typical presence. Bushmen exhibit life, even by the roadside where they are self-performing, is characterised by a combination of old and new influences. As they attend to 'tourists' Bushmen often speak Afrikaans, a language obviously not 'traditional' to these people. While they prefer to dress in traditional clothes for the front stage, on extremely cold days they are reported to wear jackets while selling crafts by the roadside (McLennan-Dodd 2003).

At the stalls, the male performers often outnumber the females, and during my visits to the Kalahari I never saw a teenage woman or relatively young woman participating in the display. The only teenage girl I saw participating in the ethnographic display was at OstriSan, who incidentally had been allegedly sexually abused⁸⁷. Adult married women such as Lys,

⁸⁷ I learnt about the alleged abuse in discussions during the trip to OstriSan involving older members of the research team such as Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, Keyan Tomaselli and Nelia Oets. It is also from these older

Lena and Rosa could be seen self-exhibiting, but they were always outnumbered by men. The gender differentiation is important because at the craft centres such as Sîsen Craft Centre women tended to outnumber men. Their crafts were produced for sale to visiting tourists and for curio shops in South Africa and abroad. Incidentally, these women craft makers tended to rely on their male counterparts, in or outside the cooperatives, to do specialised craftmaking, especially the burning and poking⁸⁸ of ostrich shales. Women meticulously thread the shales to make necklaces. There seems to be an unclear taboo about women using sharp burning and drilling instruments as gathered in interviews with women in the Kalahari.⁸⁹ The community members I interviewed gave para-normal reasons for why women have not yet mastered the etching skills. They believe women either pierce themselves or get burnt if they try these supposedly male tasks. Such reasons constitute their ‘reality’ and if any mishap befalls any woman who tries to ‘transgress’, only unexplainable censures not of the ‘outer’ world or ‘other’ spiritual world, but indeed immediate ‘here and now syncretic world will be in force.

The traditional materials used to make crafts perpetuate perceived Bushman traditions. For instance, ostrich egg shells, seeds, porcupine quills, and other related natural materials are often used in making different types of necklaces and wall-hangers sold by the roadside stalls and at the craft centres. I found a much more diversified range of commodities at the craft centres that are better managed as compared to the roadside stalls. There were leather bags, cell-phone pouches, ceramics, and other crafts that I did not see on sale by the roadside (see Appendix 5).

Bushmen crafts, folk stories and symbolic value

Various Bushman cultural archetypes recur in oral stories, crafts, art, the popular imagination and media. These might appear as visual or audio visual representations depending on which medium of presentation they are transmitted. Telling a story to accompany an artefact is an integral part of marketing and selling to an attentive audience-buyer. In order to make a sale,

members that I first learnt of the nearly incestuous relations in the ≠Khomani ‘traditional’ group as they attempt to maintain an ‘authentic’ genetic pool.

⁸⁸ Silikat Van Wyk was mentioned by Catherine Koper an administrator at the ≠Khomani Sîsen Crafts Centre as one skilled crafts man who supplies the cooperative with crafts.

⁸⁹ Susanne Witbooi told me that one woman tried burning bones and she burnt herself (interviewed 22 August 2006). Petrus Valbooi finds it inherent in males that they etch art. He told me; “Men had the art in his soul so when a man he burns a story he is telling himself” (interviewed at Witdraai 23 August 2006).

crafts people weave stories around their individual wares and use them as forms of persuasion.

Ethnographic performances and story-telling are common features at the roadside stalls. Most of the stories relate the people's existence in the desert environment and how they derive their livelihood there, as well as the noumenal experiences which are explained in ways that defy Cartesian logic (Causey 2003). For instance, a rain dance is supposed to cause rain to actually fall, in the same way that a special way of playing a musical instrument can result in the rain. A video by Timothy Reinhardt (2002a) shows Gets telling an ethnographic story about a "rain bow" he inherited from his grandfather⁹⁰. "In times of drought when animals and humans were thirsty, he used to play it to ask the heavens for rain...for life", Get is quoted explaining, and he plays the instrument for his audience. It seems there are several signifiers of rain. As we shall find in my exposition of my encounter with Silikat van Wyk, the scorpion is supposed to be a harbinger of rain.

The bow and arrow that are ubiquitous in most tourist curio shops and which are also sold by the Bushmen are now more of curios than practical hunting tools. At a stall, dreadlocked Kobus wearing a *!xai*⁹¹ demonstrated the "cupid's" arrow, while telling a simple story of courtship (Reinhardt 2002a). It is ironic that this derivation from Greek mythology has been comfortably incorporated into the Bushmen mythology.⁹²

⁹⁰ Such crafts and artwork with sentimental value are usually only be for ethnographic display by their owners. Buyers may want to buy such crafts, but this always has its own moral implications, and should be a matter of principle that visitors do not use their economic power to wrest irreplaceable treasured artifacts. While I never encountered a situation in which such a treasured artefact of sentimental value was sold, I was informed by Lizelle Kleynhans in April 2002 that when Susanne Witbooi visited Frankfurt she resisted selling her own necklaces and other 'exotic' jewellery she was actually wearing, although some people requested them. Fellow researcher from CCMS Mary Lange suffered some moral contrition after she bought a hat that a Bushman from Ngwatle had made for himself and was wearing on one of the visits. She gave the hat back. See Sætre's video, *I am You Are?* (2003).

⁹¹ A small leather thong traditionally worn by Bushmen.

⁹² Other ethnographic activities on offer include tracking game, and picking wild food. Stories are told of tracking offered by the ≠Khomani. There are also brochures that offer the experience. Although I did not get the opportunity to embark on a tracking experience, some members of the CCMS research team got the opportunity in Botswana at Ngwatle. In a video, !Xoo elder Kort-Jan from Ngwatle in southern Botswana, demonstrates his hunting skills, and another community member Yeye lights a fire using two stones, before men from the research group are taken tracking. Women researchers were specifically excluded from the excursion in respect of some aspects of Bushmen traditions that do not permit them to accompany men onto the hunting grounds. While tracking, the 'tourists' were taught about indigenous medicines for chest pains and colds, as well as berries to quench thirst (Sætre & Reinhardt 2002).⁹²

Bushmen are showing an awareness of moral ecology and whether on the roadside or in the craft centres they reiterate that the natural materials they use for their crafts are bought from farmers, and they only engage in sustainable use of natural resources, especially with regard to the killing of animals for skins, horns, and hoofs. Marketing brochures also emphasize respect for the ecosystem.

Isak Kruiper's story and the trickster archetype

In spite of the above reported discomfort during our presence during the visit to OstriSan, Isak Kruiper managed to tell Vanessa a story. He described some figural impressions which he had painted on a piece of shale. I quote his translated and transcribed narration extensively⁹³:

Like this stone. On the stone we see here are two men because here are two women and two grass huts. Now, maybe, the man has a tail, the woman has a tail. The man has a tail and the woman has a tail.⁹⁴ Ok. Their eyes differ from each other. Ok now this is wolf and this is jackal. And always, jackal was a very clever man, he was cleverer than wolf and he cheated wolf a lot. And this is jackal's wife and this is wolf's wife. And wolf's wife spoke a lot about these things, why jackal cheats him like that. Jackal's wife is the same, also spoke to jackal. Well, then she says, "Look here, it's time that you must start to shake hands and leave cheating and destroying each other. And one day Jackal goes to the veld, but he has a *kierie*⁹⁵. And wolf has a bow and arrow. And wolf put his bow and arrow down, of which he took only the arrow and came to jackal. They met each other in the veld. Then they met, spoke, "How are you?" and all these things they spoke. And jackal put down his *kierie* and wolf took his arrow and put it down and said, "Today you and I are going to shake hands. So that today we can forget all these problems that you and I cheat like that. Because my wife spoke to me

⁹³ Isak Kruiper told us the story in Afrikaans and Vanessa audio recorded and took notes. She did try to interpret to us later, but it took me until I got the transcriptions of the recording that I fully appreciated the story in retrospect. It is also during this interview that Isak disclosed that he is hurt by Afrikaans speakers who ignored talking to him but gawked at him as if he was a mere object. Due to my linguistic limitations and sense of bewilderment at first meeting South African Bushmen I could not contribute much to the interviewing during this encounter. I also did not want to disrupt Vanessa's conversation with Isak conducted in Afrikaans. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged the Bushmen themselves want to be spoken to directly, and it's eerie if no conversation takes place, as it kills the fun and defeats the whole purpose of social interaction.

⁹⁴ In Bushmen rock art and modern art on newer surfaces such as paper human figures with tails and other animal or faunic features often appear. I attribute these images to the trance practices of the Bushmen which are then translated into their artistic expression, including crafts. I write extensively about the phenomenon of trance and transformation/trance-formation or hallucinations when I deal with the late #Khomani artist Vetkat Kruiper's works in a subsequent chapter.

⁹⁵ A *knobkerrie* or *kierie* is a hunting club.

about these things of you and I always looking each other in the eyes, cheat each other, see who is the cleverest, yes.” Well then jackal also said wolf, “yes, it’s the same that my wife also did because I know I am always cleverer. I am always cleverer, clever, clever. I know more things than you. Because you know how I can...so I put this *kierie* down today. Today you and I will shake hands and today go forward in peace.” It’s from that day that jackal and wolf walk together.

Isak is aware that he has to be resourceful and to follow a systematic narrative form in order to be enthralling, credible thus retain an audience’s attention. He says:

If you tell a long story, then you must concentrate very hard on it so that you don’t tell it wrong. Nor must you repeat it two, three times. If you’ve done it right once, then it must be right. So that’s why the Bushman is like a jackal today. He’s always clever, he knows exactly where he’s going to make a mistake, then he’ll always cast his eyes downward because he knows he made a mistake. But where he’s right he’ always look [up]. Because he knows he walked the right path (Isak Kruiper, interview, 8 September 2001).

Isak Kruiper’s story is a remodelling of the archetypical trickster story usually presented with animal figures enacting human qualities and characteristics (Chapman 1996: 30-31). Isak Kruiper - like all Bushmen storytellers that rely on sheer wit and narrative resourcefulness – finds pride in his surrealistic identification of the trickster variously represented as the ‘jackal’ or other animals. This pride is notwithstanding the serious obstacles of poverty and marginalisation, and frustrations experienced by contemporary Bushmen⁹⁶. The storytellers are self-conscious of their uncanny capacity to survive competition as underdogs in the capitalist dispensation which has historically marginalised them. They pride themselves for pitting their wits, through being curious, ‘exotic’ and entertaining to outsiders, when encountered with other seemingly more valiant subjects such as visiting ‘rich’ tourists. And when Silikat tells me stories that are intended to make me part with some cash, is he not recreating and replaying the trickster symbolic role as from time immemorial? Lauren Dyll (2004: 109-110; 2007: 119-120) has described a game of wits between Silikat and Charlize Tomaselli in which he eventually acknowledges he had met his match in Charlize, where others would have succumbed.

⁹⁶I refer here to high incidences of alcoholism and a tendency to disrupt cultural tourism initiatives organised on their behalf.

Isak Kruiper's anecdotal presentation encapsulates the way the Bushman survives in a predatory world. Belinda Kruiper and the CCMS researchers have written comprehensively about how NGOs and rapacious and unscrupulous filmmakers exploit and abuse the Bushmen, who quite often resort to alcoholism, as a habit, preferred way of life and a convenient form of escapism, much as the same alcoholism causes disease and social problems (Bregin & Kruiper 2004; Tomaselli 2004; Tomaselli *et al* 2007). There was never a time when I visited Witdraai and the vicinity of the Molopo Lodge (where there is a liquor outlet close by) and I did not see an excessively drunk Bushmen in traditional gear by his/her stall. Being rowdy and disrespectful to visitors and tourists when they are drunk may be a way of hitting back. Crime has been reported as an instrument to strike at an unjust and economically skewed world order by indigenous peoples caught in the interstices of global tourism where they interact with wealthier visitors, or when the marginalised people struggle against their perceived oppressors (Abbink 1999; 341-358; Dunn & Dunn 2002; Scott 1985). Nonetheless, the Bushman has to contend and survive modern times and is an active participant in the market economy, and storytelling, self-performing and selling arts and crafts might be the most viable alternative at the moment while they continue to learn and develop other professional skills.

Meeting Silikat in the Kalahari

I met Silikat van Wyk alone in August 2006 after being dropped off at the Molopo Lodge by Keyan Tomaselli who was driving with Lauren Dyll and Kamini Moodley to a new Lodge (!Xaus Lodge) in the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP). I found Silikat at his stall, with two other performers, and I spent much of the time talking to him; he was more than eager to talk. It was the only stall by the roadside from the national road right up to the Molopo Lodge. Theirs was the only stall in the immediate Molopo Lodge vicinity. I wondered whether the exhibition and crafts business had taken a dip since the last time I visited in 2001. There were at least three such stalls with close to fifteen self-exhibiting craftsman at work in the same vicinity. There was road construction taking place into the KTP and I had already met several youths in yellow workmen's overall, signalling a new source of employment.

This encounter still confuses me because of its subversion of academic classification. It defied the neat categorisation of a real commercial "ethnographic show", although we

paradoxically were in the classical “front region”. Due to this confusion, I deliberately employ a performative creative methodology of enquiry in order to better understand my experiences and their implications. I agree with Mary Lange when she sees the use of a creative text, a so-called ‘fictional’ text, as a fundamental step in the process of understanding the essence of the ‘sensory’ field experience. “The creative text is then used as a springboard in the work-in-progress for further understanding the sensory field experience, through analysis”, writes Lange (2003: 69).

Do you want me to answer questions? I will tell you a story from my heart. I will tell you a story of my life. You see at OstriSan at that me Andre place. He pay me nothing. Nothing. NOTHING. I there for nine months and I get nothing. Where did you see me? (Silikat van Wyk, interview, 21 August 2006).⁹⁷

Silikat suddenly asked me, breaking the thread of his narration and staring straight into my eyes. I presumed he meant I should know that he was once at OstriSan.

I am still not sure if I first met Silikat with the group at OstriSan in 2001. But that time, I saw several people in their ethnographic performative roles, and it was still difficult for me to place a name against any one of them. But I surely saw Silikat and others by the roadside opposite Molopo Lodge during our trip in 2002, although we did not have an opportunity to talk. Could I have met him at OstriSan where the small ≠Khomani group self-exhibited at a simulated Bushman village behind the expensive restaurant along the highway to Sun City? There was also Isak Kruiper, Tariro⁹⁸ the girl who some of the ‘older’ members of our team hinted was recently sexually abused by an influential Bushman elder. The older members in the research team knew more people from the ≠Khomani community from previous visits to Kagga Kamma and the Northern Cape. Then, as they whispered over breakfast about the abuse, I felt a bit exasperated that they could talk easily about the research community, naming them quite easily too, and I did not quite know who was who. Lys and Isak Kruiper,

⁹⁷ I try to imitate Silikat’s diction, and when he said “me Andre place”, I concluded he was referring to Andre Coetzee owner of OstriSan, where I met Silikat and other Bushmen late in 2001.

⁹⁸ For ethical reasons I protect the privacy and identity of the victim throughout the thesis; hence I have chosen the pseudonym Tariro which in my Shona language means “Hope”. The last time I talked to Belinda Kruiper about the girl I was told she had since left the Northern Cape and was in Cape Town where she was learning to speak English, thus broadening her world horizon and life opportunities (Belinda Kruiper interviewed at Welkom 22 August 2006).

and some kids were also stationed at OstriSan at the time. The adult men wore *!xai*, and the women wore animal skin skirts. Men crouched on the not so sandy grounds busy making artifacts, and women threaded necklaces.

His eyes wetted a bit as if he wanted to cry, but they produced no flowing tears.

“I was married to Elsie, my child’s mum. That Elsie you see me with at OstriSan we are not together now. I met that other Elsie there and we stay together. My child’s mum is Elsie. Elsie, Kort her family name; and there is that other Elsie at OstriSan – I left my child’s mother to go to OstriSan – I prayed and told her God will look after me. I am a man and must work. Elsie, my child’s mother was stabbed and she died, the man is in prison now.”

His voice broke and he was quiet for a while.

“Sorry very sorry”.

I always tried to keep my sentences very short when talking to Silikat. This is because I thought uncomplicated sentences, short phrases and gestures such as vigorous nodding, and pointing and so forth made us communicate easier and faster. So, I consciously spoke with a calculated slowness, pronouncing every English word with what I thought was practical clarity, and reduced and simplified the range of my vocabulary. It all made me feel stupid and ridiculous: I had the lurking thought I was nearly baby-talking. And when I spoke to several other people not fluent in English, I saw they also strained to make me understand, Silikat indeed strained for effect in their jerky constrained and uncertain diction.⁹⁹

“I am not with Elsie now.”

I was not sure which of the two Elsies he meant. Did he leave both at the end, I wondered, but could only say, “Sorry. I am sorry,” and placed my hand over my heart to show I was really touched. “What went wrong?” I asked.

⁹⁹ I write this section of the thesis code-switching from a creative dialogic style to a critical scholarly discursive writing style in order to capture the mood and atmosphere of the day on one hand, as well as satisfy the analytic discourse of academia on the other hand. Given that I did not have a tape-recorder or notebook on the day, I quickly retreated to the Molopo where I feverishly wrote everything from memory while it was still fresh. However, I have since revisited and rewritten the script, trying to locate it into the larger project of thesis writing and ethnographic writing in general, and paying attention to its aesthetic integrity amongst other things.

We looked each other in the eyes and did not blink. He genuinely looked like someone who was appealing for my understanding and trust; he probably wanted to show he meant he did not want to hurt Elsie's feelings. Right there before me, the wetness that had earlier shown in his eyes surprisingly seemed to dry up, evaporating into the hot heat of the afternoon. Our eyes were locked for a while in no emotional contest, but hocked to each other observing and searching; I do not know searching for exactly what – it could have been trust, him studying me, and me honestly offering trust, secretly promising something for something I did not know, although I was intensely aware and even frightened of the folly of such a selflessness. There was the lingering danger of committing myself to whatever was to follow.

This encounter was not rational in the Cartesian sense as there were moments when we just felt it was right to be there by his stall together on the day and saying whatever we said to each other, not really mindful of its significance beyond us. He knew my purpose there was to seek for information and to write, and he must have known I would publicise to the rest of the world what he told me in trust. But I believe the trust he sort from me was deeper than merely keeping a secret – he *wanted* me to understand.¹⁰⁰

“What went wrong?” I repeated my question.

“Elsie broken a bottle and stab me here. You take photos when my heart hurts...”

It sounded like some snide attack at researchers and popular media journalists. I was relieved I brought no camera or recorder on this day.

“I come back with my heart hurt,” Silikat continued. “The time that Elsie stabbed me”, he said pointing widely with his chisel and anvil roughened finger to indicate OstriSan Elsie. “The time that Elsie stabbed me is also the time the man stabbed my child's mother.”

He momentarily went quiet, but soon resumed. I wondered where the other man in the narration appeared from. Was the other man a robber or rapist murderer who tragically cut short Silikat's wife's life? Was he a furious lover who killed Elsie in a drunken brawl? I

¹⁰⁰ As I write this section I am concerned about not abusing my encounter with Silikat. I am deeply concerned with the protection of his privacy, nor would I want to expose Silikat to attack or criticism by other people who might be involved in whatever he talked about or alluded to. I am worried about how to theorise and problematise a seemingly idiosyncratic encounter with a performer on the “front stage” with all archetypical props in place, and the appropriate ‘costumes’ for the star ‘actor’ is as traditionally anticipated. The idiosyncratic is a blunt rejection of neat theorisation. It is a ‘rejection’ of performance in its conventional sense, and the “front-stage” and “backstage” expectations are conflated in a syncretic exhibition where the “act”, the ‘staged’ and first order ‘reality’ are indistinguishable. Once again, my anxieties as a performative researcher inevitably come to the fore.

asked myself, but not him. Nor did I ask anybody else in the community. More than a year after my last encounter with Silikat and on reading Vanessa McLennan-Dodd's experiences with the women in the Kalahari, I realise with a sore heart that the late Elsie is the one she writes about touchingly, the one who pleads and cajoles Vanessa to bring her a gift. McLennan-Dodd writes about Silikat and Vetkat Kruiper as the 'progressive' men in the community. The two men were prepared to help with so-called women's work around the house, unlike many other men in the community who shunned house work in preference for the veld. McLennan-Dodd's informant Belinda Kruiper argued then that "men who support their wives in this way are those who uphold the traditional value of respect" (McLennan-Dodd 2003).

It surely was the same Elsie whom Belinda told me about in an interview in Durban in 2001 that she worked with her husband in making crafts. Belinda (interview, 22 October 2001) said then, demonstrating the admirable family unity in spite of other adversities:

Silikat and his wife usually work together, he burns bones and then she burns the pips to get the holes through and then she strings the necklace and they sit there and create it and they parking off by the fire and the coffee is boiling. It's a family thing and even though it was still seen as a tourist thing with the *!ghai* sitting, it was more personal.

I wonder what went wrong between Silikat and Elsie. By the time I met Silikat for an interview alone, I had some rough idea of the social problems this community faced. Alcoholism and violence have been chronicled in several accounts (Isaacson 2001; McLennan-Dodd 2003; Oets 2003; Tomaselli 2003). Silikat has been astoundingly forthright in explaining why there is drunkenness is rife in the community: "You want to know why I drink? I drink because I feel like a caged animal...we can't move, we can't go anywhere except the road. So we drink, and when we drink the anger comes, and we fight" (Isaacson 2001: 152).

The sense of entrapment is reiterated even by elderly Bushmen that under normal circumstances should be glad they lived to see the Kalahari land returned to the indigenous people. Old Griet at Welkom agonizingly revealed her despair and distrust of development agencies and bureaucrats who purport to work for Bushmen interests:

I don't know where to start. I don't know. I've been thinking about this and about that and people...people arrive and then we hear they've had a meeting and the manager never comes to us to say: 'This is so...and that is so. This is what we have decided'. We have no clue what is happening. We are stuck here at Welkom. We have to pay for our water, we have to pay for the right to sleep somewhere. We are not allowed to keep anything. We cannot keep chickens or a dog. Everything is due to circumstances. We are stuck...(interview, April 2002).

Being made confidant to the pain and suffering arising from this wide-spread social dysfunctionality might be disconcerting to a researcher. As a researcher, I was sharply confronted by my helplessness and ineffectiveness in dramatically changing the immediate conditions of the people I was studying. The Bushmen have to contend with modernity and a harsh market economy while they are still not well equipped intellectually and technically for the times.

When Silikat opened up to me, he did not tell me what went wrong between him and his wife, but had other pressing things on his mind. He said,

“Andre didn't pay me anything”.

Andre is the owner of OstriSan in the North West province, I remembered. OstriSan was advertised as an “Ostrich Show Farm and Working Bushmen”, and we saw Isak and Lys Kruiper, Abraham Meintjies and Rosa Meintjies, and a few others there, but I did not quite remember seeing Silikat there during the November 2001 fieldtrip. The group had been located there by Danie Jacobs, who previously worked in cultural tourism at Kagga Kamma. Danie Jacobs had assumed the role of the Bushmen agent and patron, taking care of them, and trying to get them out of trouble, and I remember in an evening discussion querying whether his role as a new patriarch was not disempowering the Bushmen since they could not even stand for their own children's rights preferring to let Danie stand in for them.¹⁰¹ The actual contractual relations or obligations between the Bushmen, and Jacobs, and Coetzee were never clearly spelt out to my research team, although the best of Bushmen crafts were

¹⁰¹ During our visit it came to our knowledge that the Bushmen children at OstriSan had stopped going to school because they were being bullied and taunted as inferiors by other children, and that none of the Bushmen adults around such as Isak and Abraham took the responsibility to approach the school authorities.

sold in Coetzee's curio shop close to the restaurant, and they were also provided with food and accommodation.

“I told Prof. I told him and he did nothing. Did Prof send you to me? I am a teacher. I teach Prof's students but I get nothing. Students come since 1999 and I still have nothing. I ask them why they see me poor every year, why students don't just contribute ten rands each every month and put into an account I go take it out,” he says drawing something random and indistinct into the sand. “They do nothing.”

In my calculated but hesitant English I tried to make him understand me, to understand the circumstances of students and researchers, but even in my soul I felt like a fraud already. Of course he looked simple and unworldly in his *!xai*, the skin attire wrapped over his privates, which went round to his back where a skin string went through his two buttocks, otherwise he was naked, sitting at his *stalletjie* - wire lines with crafts hanging on display, necklaces, wall-hangers and other collectibles.

I told him students are also poor and struggle to get money. They nonetheless acknowledge his importance and knowledge by visiting him and sometimes buying his art and crafts. They also write things about him and the community that they make sure to send back, at least those from CCMS where I was coming from. I said all this but was quite cautious and very worried that he could charge me for his time as he receives not a cent from CCMS. He repeated pointedly that he receives nothing – *notfeenge*- as he pronounced with his Afrikaner influenced accent. I was worried I could soon be trapped in a copyright discussion, encompassing the difficulties and costs of publishing. I suddenly felt too tired for gruelling soul-searching discussion after the long journey; is it because I was part of a matrix within the global matrix of publication as writer and scholar that I was somewhat implicated in the exploitation of his likes? Thus guilt made me reflexively want to dodge and avoid the uncomfortable talk, especially at that point. I felt vulnerable and weak before his not so direct accusation.¹⁰² On further reflection, away from the Kalahari and away from the immediate

¹⁰² It is not just that I want to duck an excruciating talk on money and exploitation, but I was really tired after my virtual sub-continental cross country journey starting from my Gweru home to Harare by road, then Harare to Durban by air courtesy of a contact leave entitlement from my employer, and then the long cruising by road to Upington and finally Witdraai which on its own took over 30 hours. There was also the tense episode after driving through Kimberley when we ran out of fuel because Keyan's new 4x4 did not automatically switch fuel from the reserve tank. It was dark and we flagged the occasional cars down, and the first coming our way stopped. It was a small Citroen with four black men. All the men looked the desert yellowish I now associate with Cape Coloureds or Bushmen from the Northern Cape. There was Peter and Daniel who offered to take me

pressure of giving Silikat an impromptu satisfactory answer to why researchers do not formally pay him for being a consistent informant, I realised that it is possible to engage people like him as *paid* informants. Since CCMS researchers speak to many informants in the Kalahari, the tendency has been to buy their arts and crafts and pay for other services rendered, rather than directly pay for interviews. Key informants, such as Belinda Kruiper and Vetkat Kruiper have been paid some form of honorarium, especially when they were invited to the CCMS at the Durban campus where they assisted students with information.

As discussed elsewhere (Dyll 2004; 2007; Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 366) Silikat is a classic Kalahari example of how a subject of research inverts the normal power relations where initiative and control would conventionally reside with the researcher. He subverts the myth that Bushmen are simply premodern hunter-gatherers living in the past, unaware of the political and economic dynamics that influence their lives, and hence are ill-prepared to create strategies to survive in the contemporary world (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 366).

to the next town 30 kilometres away to buy fuel and to bring me back to the rest of the group. The race, age and gender dynamics were tacitly played out in the decision to send me with the group. They were black males in their 20s or 30s, which I was too. None of the non black girls could be risked to go even though they were both young. Kamini Moodley is Indian and Lauren Dyll is white. Keyan is a middle aged white and it simply was unseemingly to go on such an errand. Even in my Shona socialization younger people do not send elders on errands *hazvina hunhu* - its bad manners and upbringing. It certainly is somewhat similar to the Zulu idea of *ekuhlonipa*. When I returned from buying fuel, again accompanied by our helpers, I found members of my research group who had stayed behind contending with a white apocalyptic preacher, whom I only learnt after we had driven away from our breakdown point, had been racist towards Kamini, preferring not to speak to her because with the type of skin colour and race she naturally reflected was unsaved. When a whole group of 'us blacks' returned I think he was overwhelmed and was wise enough not to say anything without tact. The preacher was a local white farmer who chanced on the breakdown while riding on his motorbike and he stopped ostensibly to help. He had objections over the mixed race group, and I was told he even believed Kamini as a black Indian has some inherent savage and satanic spiritual attribute. When I returned with Peter and Daniel he saw more black men and was wise not to preach the gospel to any of us. We thanked our helpers and drove away without incident. But on reaching Griquatown where we parted with our helpful friends, we got lost and took the wrong road. After going for close to an incredible 150 kilometres we drove back to retrace our direction, and made it to Upington this time around where we arrived very late and slept without supper. On the morrow we resumed our journey from Upington to Witdraai - again not without incident. This time it was misleading or did we mis-read signs. We got lost again and followed a road to Namibia. The signs mention Namibia more than they do the KTP, and these surely were not good reassuring signs. One sign tells us Namibia is only 80 km away, and we reason we cannot get into that country first before reaching the Game Park. We turned back. There is a dirt road branching to the right that could have saved us driving back 80 km to Upington and re-routing. The sign is clearly written 'Gemsbok Park', but the sign is at a junction with many other signs on a withered and peeling unkempt post. We were also not prepared for a daunting travel on a long stretch of dust road. We have been here before and we expected to reach the desert in a memorable reassuring route. We only have to branch off into the dust at Witdraai and not scores of kilometres in the wilderness where we were. Dust was daunting. I smiled to myself when I recall Silikat nearly instructing me to sit in the dust by his roadside workshop cum stall. He did it to welcome me to his territory, and I felt welcome after the long odious journey. Dust, we expect it somewhere, but not just everywhere.

We arrived just after lunch in Witdraai. At the junction from the tarred highway running from Askam to Namibia and the dust roads into the KTP was a lone Bushmen conical grass hut and two figures sitting there. This is the Kalahari 'front-stage', and I had seen it before in a previous visit, such stalls can be haphazardly scattered along the road to the KTP, but often strategically located close to the Molopo Lodge to capitalise on the tourists who want comfortable accommodation. There was also the campsite across the road which I understand Abraham Meinjties tried to run unsuccessfully.¹⁰³

"There's Silikat", noted Lauren without excitement.

"We'll see him another day," said Keyan rather disinterestedly.

"I don't think he recognised your new car," Lauren said again.

"Thank God. He'd probably think I am now a rich man and make more demands," said Keyan.

Keyan, Lauren and Kamini hurried for an appointment at a new lodge setting up in the interior of the Kgalagadi Gemsbok Park. I was not invited there hence I stayed behind at Molopo to meet the community there as part of my fieldwork research. I was dropped off at the Molopo Lodge about 600 metres off the junction where I was booked. After the trio had driven off, I was shown a thatched room where I was staying. There was electricity, hot water and a good desk, but no TV. In the meantime, a maid set up the room and put on new linen. She had the looks that I now associate with Bushmen genes, some beautiful slightly slanted and sweet smiling eyes and a yellowish oval face. After checking in, I immediately went to the shop close to the junction to look for Lizelle, who I last interviewed on Bushmen arts and crafts some four years ago. There were more chalets under construction in the Molopo premises – a good sign for booming business, I presumed. There were groups of road constructors on the dust road, men and women wearing bright orange overalls. Another good sign. The labourers waved at me, and greeted good-naturedly: "*Morê*" (good morning).

¹⁰³ This is the campsite on which the CCMS research team built their "tent city" during the July 2002 fieldtrip (see Tomaselli 2003: 35). I was not part of this trip because of contractual interferences over my study leave entitlements by my employer the Midlands State University in Zimbabwe. When I then returned to Witdraai it was only sensible to stay in the Molopo Lodge rather than camp alone. I would not dismiss the observance of my personal security by both Tomaselli the team leader and myself, if I was to camp alone. However, a period of observing the community while stationed at the easily accessible campsite where there is less security unlike the Molopo premises would, I presume, have brought me unique and possibly 'spectacular' encounters. Stories have been written of how the ≠Khomani visit the campsite to seek out campers, especially those they believe are their friends. Various requests are made during these unexpected visits ranging from pleading to get a sick person driven to the hospital to asking for cash to feed the family.

“*Morar*”. I reciprocated, but was wary I would encourage them to engage in conversation which I couldn’t sustain in my nearly non-existent Afrikaans. I knew the greeting from the last visit.

“Hie!” I shouted at a slim yellow-skinned young woman, wearing “hipsters” (tight fitting women’s jeans slacks) and a bright yellow t-shirt. She looked like she was in her early 20s.

“Hie,” she answered.

“How are you?” I quickly shouted in English and waved at her. She got the hint that I am not an Afrikaans speaker.

“Fine”. She paused about ten paces away.

She directed me to a nearby building behind the shop. Her English was good, and as I walked away I considered asking her to be my interpreter during my brief stay here. I had only a day to meet people, and she could be very useful as a contact person, much as she also looked friendly and interesting. I easily identified with her dress style, since it is common in the urban areas of Southern Africa where I often live. But would it be proper in this community for a new male visitor to move around with a local young woman?

At the shop, there was yet another young woman wearing jeans who looked to be in her late 20s. She was with two girls not yet in their teens. I asked for Lizelle Kleynhans¹⁰⁴, and the three looked at each other and giggled. The woman did not answer me but giggled suspiciously coy, as if we are in a courting game. One of the wizened looking young girls with the giggler told me in faltering English that Lizelle was not around. They all giggled some more, and the wizened one said something in Afrikaans about Rands. I was not going to start a reputation as someone who dishes out money, so I vigorously shake my head and said, “No money”, making an effort to smile so I was not seen as stingy.

¹⁰⁴ Lizelle Kleynhans works as the accountant for the Sisen Crafts project. I interviewed her during my first trip in 2001 and I hoped I could talk to her again, and she could probably link me for interviewing sessions with some community members during my brief stay. Unfortunately, I did not manage to meet her during this particular visit because she was busy organising the construction of a new camping site at Askham.

I thanked them and walked to the highway, going to the Craft Shop along the highway. I avoided going to the stall where we saw Silikat upon our arrival. At the shop there was nobody; I was told the following day that business is slow during that time of the year. But on the gate to the thatched shop I noticed a letter from the Manager of Meir Municipality announcing the planned transformation of the area into a municipality. The MIER Municipality Notice NO. 2005/2 signed by Municipal Manager W. Philander on 21 July 2006 notified about the proposed establishment of a town on the remaining portion of Erin Farm. Besides the subdivision and rezoning of land, new streets were going to be proclaimed in terms of the Northern Cape Planning and Development Act, 1998 (Act 7 of 1998) and the application scheme regulation of the Mier Municipality. Comments and objections to the proposal were entertained at the office of the municipal manager in writing by Friday 11 August 2006.

I read the notice on 21 August 2007. I wondered about the local people who had been away but had misgivings about the plans; could they legally stop the process now? A type of engineered 'urbanisation' was about to take place. Streets, close-knit residential areas, sewerage and water reticulations, and other associated infrastructural developments were going to take place. Could a patriot in the diaspora or disabled by circumstances from forwarding his/her 'objections/comments' have been too late. Anyway, to what extent are such processes stoppable? Doesn't it only make sense to negotiate the inevitable and try to influence the irreversible outcome so that perhaps you get a genial physical and spiritual environment? I smile to myself rather uneasily at the prospect of another McDonald's or Kentucky Fried Chicken sprouting in the veldt. Global signs of the times. Development. The virtues of planned housing, water provision and electrification. I remembered the ironies of development that we witnessed just several kilometres away at Welkom where a small location was built and the small houses electrified, only that people continued preparing meals on outside fires even during the coldest or windiest night. A 'romantic' in our group suggested that the community preferred the primordial method of preparing meals on an open fire in the open, yet in truth their action was a rational response to a practical natural problem. Electricity invited crazed light-bugs that fell on the food and irritated occupants who therefore preferred the freedom of the open space outside. Sustainable development. Moral ecology. What romantic misgivings are relevant here that I remember from the likes of P. B. Shelley, Lord Byron, Voltaire, etc. What 'industry' would be started here? It was with these

fleeting thoughts in my mind that I returned to the Molopo, but at the junction which I bypassed on my way to the Craft Centre I greeted Silikat and his colleagues.

I found Silikat with two other men by the roadside stall. Both his colleagues looked markedly older than him. The three men were all dressed in Bushmen traditional regalia, skins over the groin and nothing else. One was working on an animal skin before a small fire just behind the makeshift conical Bushman hut. His back was to the road and he didn't give much recognition of my appearance and presence, until I think when I was about to leave more than an hour later. I guessed he wanted to give the impression that they were really at their 'home', and he was doing work as expected without 'strangers' unnecessarily interrupting him.

Silikat was dressed traditionally in his *!xai*, like the other two men. Another old man sat relaxedly on the sand with bleary eyes, muttering and mumbling. That old man, later to be introduced to me as Doctor or Hans, noticed my presence but he was too inebriated at the time to greet me decently. This surely must be some absurd 'front-stage' in the Goffmanian sense (1959). Silikat was setting up his workshop and displaying wares on the sand. Some bottles of symmetrically coloured desert sand were lined up on the ridge of the road.

"Hello Silikat", I said, recognising him from previous encounters. I greeted him in English and we shook hands. Perhaps he too recognised me from before, but when I mentioned Professor Keyan Tomaselli in my self introduction, Silikat quickly picks on my association with Keyan who since 1995 has been visiting the Kalahari with graduate students, researchers, photographers, journalists and other Bushmen 'enthusiasts' at least once annually.¹⁰⁵ He wanted to know why the Professor was not there with me.

Again, as when I sought out Lizelle, my intention was to make an appointment for an interview with Silikat the following day, but I eventually conducted an impromptu discussion with him lasting over an hour. I later saw no point in setting up a particular time for a special interview, even though at this time I had not come with any notebook or pen to scribble notes, nor did I have on me ready questions to ask. Silikat has a sharp mind. He pointed at his

¹⁰⁵ These research field trips developed a cultural exchange programme for some time which saw Belinda Kruiper and her artist husband Vetkat visiting Durban and the University of Natal. Vetkat's art was exhibited in Durban at Bergtheil Museum as part of this cultural exchange.

naked chest and says, “I am a Bushman”. It was said in a declaratory tone that did not solicit any doubt. He immediately asked about the Professor. Before I could answer sufficiently, Silikat asked why his works and teachings were not translated into Afrikaans for him to read.¹⁰⁶ “English is not my language, I am a Bushman and I respect my culture,” he said.

There was both an obvious and not so obvious contradiction and paradox in his statement. I have never heard Silikat speak any traditional Bushman language such as Nama. He is fluent in Afrikaans, but right then was unapologetically making his identity claims in English. It was Petrus Vaalbooi, former Chairperson of the Communal Property Association (CPA) and cattle and sheep farmer, the so-called leader of the “Western” Bushmen who the following day bemoaned the lack of an indigenous language for his people. Silikat’s claims to Bushman-ness creates an ambiguous strategic essentialism which nonetheless could not be ignored or merely be taken as self exhibitionism for financial benefit because he was living those claims, ‘professionally’ one could say. Whenever I met him he was working on his identity and articulating it in the best way he could, making and selling crafts, telling stories, and imagining or living his existential imagination. From an essentialist perspective, Silikat on the surface claims a ‘naturalistic’ form of Bushman identity, that is to say, he *is intrinsically* a Bushmen and is *located* in the Kalahari. These notions of embodiment and emplacement are both logical and illogical in articulating his identity¹⁰⁷. Ironically, in the Kalahari, when strict genetic identification is insisted on, some of the so-called ‘pure’ Bushmen back off and make their claims on relation to a single Bushman parent¹⁰⁸.

The contradictions about Silikat’s Bushmen-ness and his articulated originary identity in spite of his use of Afrikaans and English was heightened, at least for me, when on our stop-over at a Protea Hotel in Upington from this particular Kalahari trip I picked a glossy upmarket tourist magazine *Huisgenoot* in the hotel lounge and found an image of Silikat gracing the

¹⁰⁶ I presumed he meant student thesis and other publications which incorporate interviews and observations where he features as a primary source.

¹⁰⁷ See Rojek (2005: 36-37) on how essentialistic identities are created and articulated on the basis of embodiment and emplacement. While essentialism presents its fallacies based on a kind of psychologism, the same essentialism remains indispensable for identity and ease of classification.

¹⁰⁸ Much as I do not have precise statistics on how many ‘Bushmen’ are of mixed ancestry, I should point out again that during apartheid most Bushmen were classified ‘coloured’. Again, although there are some instances of mixed marriages that have resulted in ‘creolised’ Bushmen, it has been noted that the Kruipers, in particular, are becoming ‘incestuous’, marrying close family members such as first cousins, ostensibly in order to retain Bushmen genes and physical characteristics that are popular with researchers and filmmakers (Tomaselli 2005).

front cover (see Appendix 6). He was pictured crouching on the ground in the veldt, scouring the sand (for edible tubers, perhaps), prominent black studio earphones plugged to his ears, shirtless and carrying a sling bag. In the traditional gear, he is barely dressed. He looks like he is listening to something from the 'walkman' whilst digging for roots in the desert. There is nothing incongruous here. The Bushmen's contemporary cosmology includes this technology, and he is self aware and aware that he is an object of other peoples' gaze, interest, fascination, pity or revulsion. And he strategically responds to the different opinions about himself that the other brings along to him. I wonder to myself whether I am here encountering in flesh and blood the desert post-modernist untroubled by the baggage of modernism, nor the ontological linearity of Marxist class consciousness. Is he the 'post' more in the sense of what he imagines himself to be and what he behaves out to the public gaze, what he is constantly re-enacting and becoming, without care for the academic jargon? On seeing this magazine picture, I realise I had just met an impoverished twenty-first century media "star", albeit one without corresponding comfortable financial support for him to live a luxurious life such as his wealthier counterparts enjoy in South Africa and globally. The anachronism of postmodernism is that signification is more important than economics, and people like Silikat might appear endlessly in advertisement clips, movies and ethnographic writings of all sorts but remain poor materially. They might be rich in terms of public recognition, but remain materially poor and living in squalid conditions.

Silikat's mind is pretty fast. He is aware of the forces that conspire against him and names his exploiters. He also takes stock of what was promised him and not delivered. Mary Lange had promised him that Nelia Oets was good in Afrikaans and was going to write a book that he could also read. Nothing has been done, he said. I wonder whether the promise was indeed made, but I now understand the subtle desert politics; the CCMS visits had brought publicity and respect to selected individual members of the ≠Khomani featured in books, journal articles and theses, and Silikat is probably soliciting for more coverage just as many artists do when they engage any type of media. He, however, prefers a book in Afrikaans that is the language immediately accessible to him.

"Where's Mary 'Langa', where's 'Vanesha', where's Prof's daughter?" He asked as if their not being there with me that day was some form of betrayal. I note he seems to remember whites only, yet I am sure there has been a fair number of black researchers such as Linje Manyozo Mlauzi and Jeffrey Sehume. I suspect that in his strategic thinking whites, with the

Professor at the apex, wield the magic to publicity, prominence and wealth. They might embody more purchases from his stall, and donations.

As if to confirm my thoughts, he enticed me into buying some of his crafts, but he made it seem as if he was just inviting me to choose the best, before someone else came to take them. Another irony: the day was very slow and there virtually was no other customer in sight. The few cars were either whizzing past on the highway without slowing down, or the few ones turning into the dust road, quickly raised clouds of dust, purring away.

“Get one now, the choice is yours,”¹⁰⁹ Silikat said fingering some necklaces displayed on his *stalletjie* wire-hanger. “Students can’t make a decision, but later say Silikat the decision is yours.”

When Silikat fingered the necklaces, the drunken old man probably thought he was about to make a sale to me and he lurched in closer by two steps. Silikat noticed the interest he had raised in his colleague (perhaps they are some kind of a cooperative), so he tried to introduce me to the withered looking eccentric drunk he referred to as ‘Doctor’.

“He Doctor is my teacher,” he complimented his mate not unflatteringly. “Everything that I am he teaches me”, Silikat said with pride.

¹⁰⁹ The “front stage” scripts returns from intimate camaraderie to salesmanship. I should not forget that the roadside stall is a craft shop and Silikat’s business is to sell his wares and perform for audiences in exchange for money and gifts. The roadside is a “themed” space. According to Mark Gottdiener (1997) the concept of theming refers to the cultural production of commercially defined spaces designed to operate as containers for human interaction. While Gottdiener examines Disneyland, Las Vegas casinos, shopping malls, cafes and airports as examples of such spaces, roadside stalls in the Kalahari meet the basic characteristics. In these themed spaces or ‘containers’ performers and consumers are supposed to operate programmatically and engage in preferred systems of action that are usually plotted to involve monetary exchange (Rojek 2005: 116). Popular culture consumers are “seduced” to spend money in these spaces. Activities such as provision of drinks and meals are designed to maximise time spent in such spaces by revelers. Themed environments in leisure and consumer culture are regulated, commercialised spaces designed to stimulate consumption for the realisation of profits (Rojek 2005: 116). While the Bushman space by the roadside is very basic the performers try to retain attention and seduce visitors into buying. It is only at OstriSan where before and after the tour visitors could sit and enjoy drinks and meals in the restaurant in front of the Bushman Village. At OstriSan a menu that includes Ostrich stew and pies is available, in line with the Bushman motif. These are served in the restaurant called *Bushman’s Cove*. The consistent and persistent attempts by the #Khomani to set up their craft stalls in front of the Molopo might be a conscious attempt to compliment their business with larger capital base of boarding, cuisines and beverages which they are ill-equipped to provide themselves.

Was I a fly in a spider's web, fated to be feasted on?

An entrapment emerged. Silikat wanted doctor to see into my life; to see whether "I come in well", and "If where I am going is good", as he put it.

At that point in the narrative the Doctor threw bones and drawled something drunkenly. The one word I undoubtedly picked out from his drivel talk is "*mari*". It certainly must mean the same as it means in my own vernacular Shona. Money. I wondered whether I was in the den of tricksters.

Silikat was the interpreter. I handed over some Rand coins upon request from Silikat and the old man used three five rand pieces to circle and shift the bones in the sand. Doctor throws large game teeth onto the sand and drawled something.

"Are you an old man or a young man?" Silikat asked suddenly.

"I am 38."

"You are my age – 38 – but I am your teacher," he quickly said.

Silikat randomly circled and re-circled the teeth, the 5c pieces and the two R5 coins, and he talked throughout the actions. The game teeth and the coins invariably represent me, my wife, my three kids, a brother, who as he said, all want money; they all want me to work. The teeth and coins also shift their representational identities in his interpretation and they are figuratively me, my family, Keyan, CCMS students and what Silikat calls "the chiefs"¹¹⁰ and "small people" in the Kalahari.

"All these have to work for us – the government too has to work for us the small people." He said.

I interjected: "Did you ever think of joining the work force constructing the road?"

"I never thought of it," he replied. "But I think of it. I am a Bushman, am artist and a teacher. I need to tell stories to tourists."

¹¹⁰ At Molopo Lodge the following morning while eating breakfast two South African police officers who were controlling traffic for a filming crew told me Silikat calls anyone in authority "chief", or anybody he deems to be his social superior. This reference was also across gender as one of the police officers was a woman and she says Silikat calls her chief as well. However, I suspect he uses the term with a measure of sarcasm, especially when he compares the "chiefs" to the "small people", the latter group I felt he not only identified with but empathised with too.

I had noticed that younger Bushmen ethnographic artists were off the road and Silikat was the youngest of the three men by the roadside on this particular day. Were these writings on the wall about the future of this particular type of cultural tourism industry in the changing topology of the Kalahari? Did the scarcity of ethnographic performers on the road portend the demise of the art and trade?¹¹¹

Silikat had also asked me in his enigmatic way earlier upon my arrival: “When you last came where did you see me?”

I nearly laughed. It was just funny to realise I was being asked such a question by *a Bushman*. The Shona mythology about Bushmen – *Mandionerepi* - has always taught me to be wary of questions related to the appearances of extraordinarily very short men.¹¹² The Bushmen are supposed to be very short, muscle-bound men who you suddenly encounter without notice and they ask when you first saw them. “*Wandionerepi?*” If you answered that you had just noticed them, it invited their savage ire for implying they were too short.

“Yes, you see me where first?” his question sounded earnest and urgent.

“I saw you down there near the Molopo Lodge.” The small group of artisans was currently stationed about three hundred meters from the entrance to the Molopo Lodge.

“And now?”

“You are here at the road junction.”

“We small people do nothing”.

He sounded vindicated, as if I was witness to, and had also testified about, an abuse done to him and his folks. ‘We small people do nothing’. The words did not sound exactly despairing, if anything they were a matter of fact statement of victimhood, but they were also actually not a directly articulated protestation. In their obliqueness I wondered whether these words were a way of stating or informing me that he and his other roadside Bushmen artists had been

¹¹¹ When I interviewed the female crafts makers at the shop at Welkom the following day, I was told that this was not the peak of the tourist season when Europeans preferred to visit. It might explain why there were not many people by the roadside.

¹¹² My CCMS research mate Michael Francis who is Canadian based his PhD thesis on the motif of *Mandionerepi* which in isiZulu is called *Ongibonabonephi* (Francis 2007: 21). There is obvious phonological similarity between the Zulu word and the Shona word. In fact, even in Malawi the phenomenon of *Mwandionerapati* is well known by those who are culturally literate and it means the same and is interpreted similarly. We can conclude it is a universal Bantu myth with its own imagined realities (see Chimombo 1994; Francis 2007: 21).

forcibly removed from the lodge's close proximities. Silikat was probably telling me that small time artists like himself could not compete against, or challenge 'big' capital such as was invested in, or represented by, the Molopo Lodge. It sounded as if the Molopo authorities had removed the Bushmen from immediate vicinities for whatever reason. The original location of the roadside-cum-workshop stall acted as front stage and the lodge was the rear. This front stage was somewhat strategically placed to make visitors to the desert immediately see Bushmen at work anytime, with the visitors having easy access to hotel facilities in the background. I suspect the Bushmen might have become rowdy and drunken because the last time I was here I remember Lena pestering us to no end and drunkenly deluding herself as Winnie Mandela¹¹³. Vanessa had brought her some photos from a previous visit to see, but she was sodden with drink and did not understand why our group particularly sought her out (McLennan-Dodd 2003). Her husband, Jacob Malgas, was also inebriated, and he lingered close by begging. They were both wearing traditional clothes. At one time Malgas crouched on the ground unwittingly exposing his privates, too drunk to recognise any decorum. That forced me to move away from the female company standing in front of the Malgas stall. When we wanted to drive off Lena precariously hung by the 4x4's door, mumbling through drizzling saliva and asking for money. We were careful not to hurt her, but escaped at the slightest opportunity¹¹⁴.

I did not enquire from Silikat whether the 'traditionalists' were evicted from the vicinity of the lodge because they had proven to be a nuisance, and a business liability to the Molopo Lodge management¹¹⁵. I thought it self evident given that there is hardly a time I came and did not find someone befuddled with intoxicating stuff 'at work', even today there was the mumbling and inarticulate Doctor as empirical evidence. The nearly unruly behaviour that

¹¹³ Roger Carter had tried unsuccessfully to involve the ≠Khomani in joint Molopo Lodge community economic ventures (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 363). Roger Carter is a retired businessman. He used to manage Molopo Lodge in the Northern Cape and became closely involved with the ≠Khomani. After he left the lodge, he continued living at Andriesvale for some time and remained connected to the community. Carter has been a reliable informant for the CCMS on the ≠Khomani (Tomaselli & McLennan-Dodd 2003).

¹¹⁴ I understand Lena and Malgas divorced because of wife abuse, a not unparadoxical development in the relationship between the desert Winnie and her husband (McLennan-Dodd 2007; Tomaselli 2007).

¹¹⁵ The possibility of continuing legal and extralegal fights over land in the Northern Cape after the land restitution is not far-fetched. In my interview with Petrus Vaalbooi the following day he indicated that the land on which the shops and the Molopo Lodge were situated had unclear ownership. "Not even the lawyers know who owns this land," he said. I would presume the land issue would need a thorough separate investigation that is sensitive to the power dynamics in the area even after the restitution (Petrus Vaalbooi, interview, August 2006).

frustrated potential customers and visitors has been noted countless times in travel and academic literature (Abbink 1999; Dyll 2004; Oets 2003). Instead, I point out to Silikat there is road construction going on hence it would surely disrupt his roadside stall in the meantime; after all road construction was another type of ‘change’ taking place beside their suspected ‘eviction’ from the Molopo front. But Silikat has since drifted into repeating, “Me making a decision now. These will not wait. Tourists will come.” I don’t understand what he is getting at, and he does not particularly seem as if he is enlisting my sympathies or support in whatever struggle he might be planning to engage in.

I was confused by the thread of his thoughts. To keep conversation sensible, I asked whether he still paints on paper. I assumed he too had painted art on paper because in 2001 I saw works by ≠Khomani artists, including Vetkat Kruiper, displayed at Bergtheil Museum in Durban. Belinda Kruiper, wife to the late artist Vetkat brings art pieces by selected members of the ≠Khomani community, especially those from the so-called ‘traditional’ side.

I was glad and relieved Silikat answered: “I like working on bone, wood, stone, porcupine quills; I love things from the desert. I don’t like paper so much, it’s western. I am a Bushman and I use what is here in the Kalahari. See this rain dance on this stone! It even has kudu shit (droppings) to show it was picked out of nature,” he said showing off one of his artefacts, scraping a bit of the whitish dry droppings off the stone.

That he is a Bushman is almost a refrain in all his speech. When I asked him what subjects he draws on he answered, “I am a Bushman and I make things about things in the Kalahari. My work tells stories. One day a man goes hunting, he has a bag with arrows. He sees kudu, he sees porcupine, ostrich, then he sees scorpions on the sand and he knows it is going to rain. Scorpion is good because it brings rain.”

More drama followed. The ‘Doctor’ grumbled and drunkenly muttered something unintelligible. I wonder if he would have made sense to me even if we both spoke the same language. Honestly, I could not tell the difference between Afrikaans and Nama or N!u, the indigenous endangered Bushman language. Doctor suddenly shoved a stick into my sweater up from my front collar, and I am still surprised I did not jump from panic. Perhaps he did not look as if he would hurt me, yet I remained watchful. I felt my heart beat against the stick that brushed against my naked skin. Doctor kept the stick there for a few moments as if he was

testing my heartbeat. He draws out the stick and put it on the sand. And he holds my neck in his rough hands. The group of Bantu and Bushmen workmen in the construction depot behind were inquisitive. They wanted to see how much I could endure the unpredictable antics. I was now part of the performative spectacle, but I remained watchful – a participant observer. It was not as if Doctor particularly looked threatening, but just in case...

Ironically, in this bizarre impromptu (to me, at least) script, I just sat there because I felt the watchful workmen were my silent protection, witnesses to whatever might happen, and thus a remote point of constraint to excessive behaviour by the drunken master. Did filmmaker Jean Rouch (1971) feel similar uncertainties when shooting the wild unpredictable scenes in the ‘ethnographic’ performative production that constitutes *Les Maitres Fous*? Is the researcher’s personal security assured by the research subject and other members of the hosting community? To what extent should researchers expose themselves to high risks and with the knowledge that the research agenda stays morally justifiable? All this raced through my mind and I silently prayed nothing crazy happened to disrupt the research process.

Then the giggling young woman and the wizened girl child I met earlier at the shops made a timely appearance. The child stood with the woman a couple of metres away from us, smiling and beckoning me to come over, calling me “Uncle”. I knew the giggler and the girl wanted “Uncle” to part with some money, but Doctor was protective of my pockets¹¹⁶. The giggler smiled lewdly and I suspected she was a sex worker¹¹⁷. Doctor chased the two away, cursing. I watched them go away without regret, but also relieved that the Doctor had been distracted from his weird diagnosis. The workmen in orange overalls were still watching. Perhaps they enjoyed the impromptu free drama. This was not an everyday occurrence. Tourists’ cars continued to speed past leaving clouds of dust.

¹¹⁶ In my encounters in the Kalahari it would be presumptuous to say money was the single most important mediator of social relations between myself (or my research team) and our hosts. Indeed, there are innumerable instances when money determined our interactions and access to information with regards to even prominent Bushmen personalities such as Dawid Kruiper and Petrus Vaalbooi. However, we also had none-monetary relations with especially our hosts, Belinda and Vetkat Kruiper, at the Blinkwater sanddune. Silikat, after my eccentric meeting with him at his stall, and the women at the craft shops, did not particularly ask me for money.

¹¹⁷ One of the CCMS informants during the July 2003 visit told Tomaselli that AIDS spread by unconventional sexual relations, and was likely going to see the imminent demise of this community (Tomaselli 2005: 3). Whereas male Bushmen could be polygamous, female extra-marital sexual activities were nearly unheard of (Marshall Thomas 1959). Belinda Kruiper has written about how ≠Khomani women have resorted to sex work as a means of coping with the money economy (Bregin & Kruiper 2004).

Freed from the Doctor and the giggler, I decided to give Silikat R50. He burst out crying.

“The spirits tells me one of yours is coming today, they sure did. It pains my heart”, he said in between sobs, tears glittering in his sad eyes.

He then gave me an exquisite necklace, the one with the scorpions burnt onto bone, which I decided was a friendly present. By the time I bade him goodbye, Silikat had recovered himself. He was composed enough to shake my hand. But then he rather unexpectedly bit between his stained teeth a spot on the back part of my right hand. I suppose it was some divinatory action meant to give me blessings of sorts, although I didn’t bother to ask about the meaning. It was not a painful bite, and his teeth left some shallow teeth marks that soon faded away. Again, the symbolism was striking to me; was he now the “scorpion” on his gift necklace, figuratively “consuming” me? Alternatively, he was imparting blessings to me through his teeth – a ‘secretion’ of luck and goodwill! The Kalahari is replete with signs and symbolism and I just could read anything into sights and actions.

The sober old Bushman who had all along worked unobtrusively in the background suddenly developed interest in me. He said something to Silikat, but did not leave his working spot. I stood to up to leave. I had had enough for one day. I correctly guessed he wanted some cigarettes, so pulled a couple from packet and placed them on the sand for them to share. I had supposed there was nothing rude about the gesture since the sand was their work table. The three men converged as I walked away, and began sharing.¹¹⁸

(While doing my reflexive revision of my encounter with Silikat I continued to speculate whether he is sincere in his acts or he is out to dupe people through exploiting emotions. I re-read my interview with Belinda Kruiper from 2001 when she indicated that for Silikat the roadside shows might be demeaning and an only resort. When I asked Belinda whether the roadside self displays and performances should be considered as authentic, she at first was outright against them, but soon picked up on the ambiguities intrinsic in these presentations, depending on individual performer’s motives, self-perceptions and interests. Some performers are genuinely proud of what they would be doing, others are into it for the money,

¹¹⁸ I met Silikat the following day by the gate to the Molopo Lodge. He was wearing a t-shirt and denims, far from the “front stage” performance regalia of the last encounter, and he was assisting Keyan Tomaselli and Belinda to find me after I had gone looking for Dawid Kruiper at his homestead.

and other's find it as a way of hanging out. Silikat is ambivalent about the performances, he wants to do the acts "voluntarily", but not to perform because he is forced by hunger. He quests for peace and to retreat to a piece of land where he can keep his goats and sheep and grow some veggies. Belinda's (interview, 22 October 2001) response follows:

I've worked on Parks Board in the tourism section, I've often referred people to the family and I was very honest then I would say, you know, when you see them on the side of the road and they are sitting, its a way, they do it to attract tourists. Because its the romantic thing out there, but in essence I would often encourage tourists to hang out and get to know them as people, because they're really amazing and not judge one because they're sitting in a pants...I've written some names down for Mary Lange of tourists, who've now become, not friends but more acquainted because they write to me. They are really interested. They all, if they could do anything, they'd also stop this formal development for tourist attractions, but rich Americans want to see Bushmen in skins. They got lots of money to fly out for a day to the desert and they want to see that what they heard about in the movies and that. So it's the shift that will have to take place. Some Bushmen still want to put on their skin and dance for tourists and do this tourism thing in that way. Like at 11 o'clock, *!xu* and *!xai* as they call it, at 10 o'clock display your ware, show people how, there are people that want that. And that is the Witdraai lot. And a lot of Dawid's (Kruiper) people want to do it of the Kruipers. But then there are the Kruipers who are not interested. They just want to live, and they say surely, even though this process is continuing, if they could just have that little peace. Silikat says, he could just live in Witdraai quietly on his own and get his few goats and plant some veggies and sit there. And if he feels like the day he wants to take on his *!xai* and go off to the road like he did before to survive, then he'll do it. But he doesn't want to be forced that this is the next role. Then there is a whole lot that quite happily want to do this, because they have already seen this as money and this is attention. So give and take, to me that's development as allowing everyone to do what they want to do.)

Theoretical Evaluation of the Bushmen Performative Acts

When Silikat is 'intimate' with me and departs from the conventional Bushmen archetypical stories to tell me about the loss of his wife, and how he was supposedly not paid for his services at OstriSan, in what ways does this upset or disrupt the front region expectations? Labour remuneration issues and their articulation are not part of the standard ethnographic exhibition and experience. I conclude Silikat did not perceive me as a conventional tourist who simply needed leisure and entertainment. He associated me with the Professor, and research; hence he could discuss other issues not normally associated with the tourist

encounter. Even the fact that we discussed family and intimate issues disrupts the entire touristic experience where one is supposed to experience leisure without other ‘serious’ considerations. My research teams tend to delve into issues that are not necessarily about the superficial tourist presentations in themselves. As researchers, we are “anthro-tourists” (Tomaselli 2005). When we study cultural tourism we try to understand the ‘back regions’, the quotidian lives of our performative informants, and we have been much more successful in this regards with the ≠Khomani more than with the Zulu (for the Zulu see Enevoldsen 2003; Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004; Ndlela 2002).

Lauren Dyll (2003) has had a ‘typical’ encounter with Silikat. She notes how the man is adept at his “playful manipulative transaction”. For Dyll, Silikat is in a “game” in which he locates himself at the “centre” of things. Silikat uses “Bushman ontology in making up a game that could earn him money” (Dyll 2003: 138). He creates attention for his person/persona and visitors come to talk to him and watch him at “play” at work, so to speak. In a Silikatian performative cast there usually are other supporting minor actors in the ‘frontstage’ background, busy at work or strategically intrusive like ‘the Doctor’. These compliment him by either staying quiet and unintrusive but ‘present’ to lend the stage-work some ‘authentic’ appearance. When Silikat moaned about the loss of his wife Else Witbooi, he was equally regretting the loss of a female professional performance partner with a feminine/wifely role he could not easily replace. Jacob and Lena Malgas used to complement each other as a Bushman husband and wife team, although their act was pathetic and vexatious when I encountered them. Although Silikat is not aware of his game as a performance ethnography, we, as researchers, can make sense of it during and after the event through our knowledge of the methodology. Researchers and tourists can only interpret the acts and sights from their own perspectives. The encounters evidence an audience-actor relationship, although the line might be blurred in some instances and the stage might not be that clear (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 367). While the researcher might conclude that the ‘performance’ is a clever game, it might, indeed, for Silikat and his colleagues, be not an act or a game, but rather their lived reality – “the hyperreal” (Baudrillard 1983). Outsiders might really never know if he is aware that Silikat’s ‘real’ might be the “hyperreal”.

In several ways, Silikat’s presentation is seductive and mysterious, conflating the classical ‘front region’ behaviour and norms with the ‘back region’ of the script intimations. His complex act makes it difficult to easily deduce when one is being taken for ride, duped or

when he is making a genuine entreaty. In a complex marketing mix, he weaves archetypical Bushman motifs with serious ‘political’ and labour issues, however remaining entertaining and ensuring both his performative act and artefacts are paid for. Silikat seems to know the ‘rules’ postmodern people assume are consensual in the world of real economics, where there ought to be a *willing seller* and a *willing buyer*. Vanessa wrote of the persistence with which Silikat might want to sell his stories and wares to someone he thinks is not exactly ‘gullible’, but someone who enjoys the fun, but is willing to pay for more entertainment that is created and recreated depending on the artist’s latest ingenuity. Vanessa (McLennan-Dodd 2003) wrote:

Every time I cross the dusty road I hear Silikat calling “Vaneshaaaa!” One day he tells me a long story, illustrated with writing in the sand, about how in the old days we used shillings and sixpence, and now we use Rands and cents. What does this mean? He’s convinced I know what he’s talking about. On another occasion he tells me he had a dream about me and the seven stars, and my Bushman name is “Morning Star”, and look, here is a necklace with stars on it for only R20.

When one ‘falls’ for his ‘tricks’ it never pains because one was a complicit voluntary participant in a game whose end result often ought to be a parting with cash, especially when it is at the stall and he is the professional in business. I say this because upon meeting Silikat dressed in his full modern clothes right in front of the Molopo Lodge when I was coming from an interview with Isak Kruiper, and Keyan and Belinda were looking for me in the *bakkie*¹¹⁹, he greeted me as if I was a good old friend. He did not beg for anything and we parted like decent, well meaning buddies¹²⁰. Such spaces of decent social interaction are, however, assured as long as there are bearable levels of sobriety. Again, alcoholism, much as it is to blame for some excesses witnessed in the Kalahari, is a result of frustration due to economic marginalisation. As long as economic relations remain skewed and the Bushmen do not get requisite skills to engage in contemporary labour markets, self-exhibition might be the last resort which may be, however, humiliating in certain spaces and contexts. I wished for a time when I could just visit the Kalahari and be appreciated for what I am, not because I

¹¹⁹ A South African term referring to a mini-bus.

¹²⁰ Silikat obviously does know the different ways of being. The two subject positions of a man at work by the stall, and a social being, are clear to him, and he adjusts accordingly, even when he conflates them when at the stall.

am viewed as a source of money. However, the whole cultural tourism business from the performers' perspective might not be about *appreciating* researchers and tourists alike, but one of trying to cash on visitors as much as possible.

I find the Kalahari artists and community leaders quite savvy in understanding gender, age and race differences and they utilise these in discourses that directly 'empower' them for the moment of encounter. In selling the "Morning Star" necklace to Vanessa, he exploits her femininity (McLennan-Dodd 2003). However, Silikat ambiguously saw me as an a male peer who could empathise with his family story, his butchered wife, his folly for leaving someone meant for him, who truly loved him, the story about his dispersed family especially the daughter he loved very much who was now in Cape Town, and the exploitation he purportedly suffered from business associates such as the people at OstriSan and the Molopo Lodge management. This he did in spite of his self-proclaimed claims on social superiority and seniority over me in our immediate encounter since he insisted he was my 'teacher'. When he referred to the supposed exploiters and the management at Molopo, and when he insisted the professor ought to "make a decision now", he never, interestingly enough, referred to all these people in racial terms. It is, however, I who mused that he entreated his story to me as a black man to a fellow understanding black man. He could have made similar allegations to anybody else, what in discussions Tomaselli refers to as "the flavour of the month", yet I strongly felt he was telling these things as to a fellow black man. That is why he wanted the absent Tomaselli "to make a decision" now. The CCMS role in research is always confused by the research community in the Kalahari, when at times we are perceived as allies or lobbyists on behalf of particular individuals in their disputes with others. Indeed, my colleagues have also testified to how the ≠Khomani 'play' their contacts against other contacts, at least to extract sympathy and gifts in situation where the latest visitor is made to believe the previous ones were unscrupulous and exploitative. In the introduction to a special issue of *Cultural Studies* < = > *Critical Methodologies*, Tomaselli and the late Arnold Shepperson (2003: 385) observed:

...with regard to the Northern Cape, research encounters are often rearticulated by our informants into discourses of begging; complaining about other researchers, journalists, and photographers; exploiting them; and about poverty and hunger, notwithstanding the large amounts of developmental aid that have been injected into committees and other structures tasked to service these communities.

New ≠Khomani Nomadism and Cultural Tourism

‘Traditional’ ≠Khomani groups have been seen self-performing in a variety of geographic environments as diverse as Kagga Kamma, OstriSan in the North West Province and the Northern Cape. Performing for tourists, researchers, filmmakers and photographers is one of the few job opportunities to these people who barely have complete primary school education. A new form of nomadism between cultural and game parks of all kinds is taking place with groups of ≠Khomani people reconstituting themselves in terms of stereotypical cinema/tourist images of pre-modern ‘Bushmen’ as popularised in *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1980; 1983) and other films (Tomaselli 2001: 176; Tomaselli *et al* 2005: 25). The same groups of people move easily from one place to the other, at times entering into business contracts with proprietors of properties such as at OstriSan. Relations are maintained but while extralegal and fragile, they are tenuous and persistent. Moving away from a place such as OstriSan might be viewed as an ‘industrial action’ (labour resistance), which can be accompanied with protestations passed on to supposed allies and well-wishers, but this does not fore-close further relations between the ≠Khomani and their sponsors. In the Kalahari, there is a certain nomadism not quite enacted on the front stage, but in the existential lives of the Kalahari citizens. They move easily from the roadside at Witdraai to a shack in the veld, to Welkom and to Erin. Apart from the new permanent structures at Welkom and the farm houses won from the process of restitution, some of the abodes look very fragile and temporary, including the Witdraai shack belonging to Dawid and Sanna Kruiper. The stereotypical images presented at roadside and other theme parks are in contradistinction to the quotidian lumpen-proletarian and poor lifestyle they live in shacks, dressed in modern clothes, often cast offs from sympathetic donors.

Although the notion of an authentic originary Bushman is largely impractical, it is not this pristine original state that people want to return to. The dynamics and inherent paradoxes in the romantic wishful need for a primal, originary and imaginary Bushmanness frequently articulated by Silikat and other ≠Khomani in the Northern Cape is a longing for return to the past. However, it is not the past they want to return to. What they have is ‘the symbolic language’ for describing their present marginalised position and what suffering was like. “Bushman-ness” is a metaphor for where they are today as a development of past history - it is a language with a double register, literal and symbolic.

The awareness of research subjects as “experiencing individuals” is sharply manifest in the Kalahari. This may be in the form of demands for payment for interviews and other sources of data granted by the local informants. Or it may be outright claims to being the authors and authorities of the knowledge that is generated and processed in the research encounter, where the conventional researcher is subverted and obverted, and the research informants assume a paramount position in which their vision rather than the researchers’ own takes precedence. They might as well write the research report and claim authorship. Much as they do not seem to want to do the literal authorship largely due to their current inadequate literacy skills, they, however, seem to want @authorship@ of what comes to be said about them.

Tomaselli has noted the dilemmas of research in the Kalahari and at times about the vexatious claims that researchers are “stealing knowledge” (Tomaselli 2003). He vigorously resists the usurping of his academic profession by informants. Dawid Kruiper has claimed he is a ‘doctor’, and he was in the process of ‘authoring’ a book of his “doctorship” (Interviewed by Keyan Tomaselli *et al*, 29 September 2000). Many similar claims are made with Silikat insisting that he is my teacher. As an informant, his knowledge and information is invaluable, but my production and synthesising and ultimate uses of the same knowledge is beyond his scope¹²¹. It is in the academic domain in which he lacks the requisite training and skills to make a claim. He does not theorise or historicise his actions. For instance, exhibitions by Bushmen have always been a contentious issue since they started as an initiative by White colonisers intent on othering and proving the primitive but exotic Other, thereby justifying the colonial project (Basckin 1989; Fabian 2006; Mudimbe 1988; Prins 2000; Strother 1999; Szalay 1998). Silikat is unaware of the process that makes him a product of a system, a product that has been reproduced over centuries due to the iniquities of capitalism and its demands for the gratification of the entertainment and leisure needs of the elites. What entails the process of critical cultural product production is beyond Silikat as his presentations are only the raw material of the academic’s end product. Even in the most articulate organic intellectual in the Northern Cape, Belinda Kruiper, has had need to find assistance in giving shape and form to her (auto)biographical story (Bregin & Kruiper 2004). As a critical and reflexive scholar I am capable of articulating the underlying producer-product-process

¹²¹ It is possible here that I might be interpreting the notion of knowledge production from the dominant academic, and presumably ‘Western’ register, since African scholarship traditions are intricately linked to European and American traditions, that also have presuppositions about copyright and ownership of knowledge.

relations (as presented by Ruby 1977) in which I am implicated when writing even this thesis, a consciousness of consciousness which I am afraid ≠Khomani informants are prone to explain intuitively, without even theorising the ‘intuition’ as if it is given and matter of fact.

Claims of ‘authority’ are worrisome when they come from unpredictable quarters but not when they come from trusted informants who have certainly contributed to the qualitative development of the study. They might even sound genial when made in more conflictual situations such as those reflexively shown in *Anthropology on Trial* (1983). The erstwhile informant Big Man Onka draws the attention of the camera, saying that the anthropology professor next to him, is in fact his real student – since he, Onka – is the real professor though he cannot read and does not have any academic degrees. His main argument is that when the anthropologist arrived on his island, the anthropologist knew nothing about the natives, and had to be taught by Onka (Tomaselli 2003: 63).

In other instances, researchers have been invaluable as the repositories of collective memory after they initially came as ‘outsiders’ (see Stille 2002)¹²². The interaction between a community and researchers might not just be of immediate relevance and the informant might not necessarily remain the “outsider” in the exchange of information as testified in Giancarlo Scoditti’s case. The dialogic responsibilities, sincerity and respect in their dealings become apparent and, certain generational responsibilities are also manifest. This certainly renders the assertion that qualitative enquiry is a civic, participatory and a collaborative project that joins the researcher and researched in an ongoing moral dialogue (Denzin & Lincoln 2002: ix; Tomaselli 2006: 255). Tomaselli hence insists that subjects/informants have a similar responsibility toward researchers in producing public information, but I am aware this noble spatial realisation might fail to be understood, especially in immediate contexts where the researcher is viewed as a rich and well endowed ‘Other’ with resources to expend by his relatively needy host counterparts. The situation is encouraging though in the Kalahari

¹²² Alexander Stille writes about Italian anthropologist Giancarlo Scoditti now popularly known in the remote island of Kitawa, off the coast of Papua New Guinea, as Toruruwai “the man who remembers”. Some of the artists, poets, wise men and sorcerers Scoditti first interviewed and recorded in the 1970s and 1980s were by the turn of the new millennium either late or just silent. Some of the islanders curious about their culture turned to him for explanations, verifications and so on of traditions and rituals performed in their own ceremonies. Scoditti paradoxically became to descendents of the people he first researched on, an evaluator of credible ‘authenticity’. In situations where oral culture is both tremendously robust and extremely fragile research and documentation might provide spaces of memory and storage (Stille 2002: 155-181).

judging from the interactions of the CCMS team with various people in the desert, including notable people such as Dawid Kruiper who also has softened his demands for payment from our particular team as he now values it differently from other visitors, researchers and filmmakers. The moral dialoguing has been particularly impressive between the CCMS research crew and Belinda Kruiper, for close to a decade now, and she has since published her own research to speak back and into the research and general social-political and developmental processes that have been taking place in her adopted community (Bregin & Kruiper 2004).

This study is a reflexive performative writing piece of work in which I deliberately make my presence visible and felt in the cultural tourism encounters wherever possible. I have therefore chosen to use Belinda Kruiper's (auto)biographical book *Kalahari RainSong* (2004) to help me recall and conceptualise people, incidences and other important phenomena in the Northern Cape in the following chapter. Much as this publication has already been reviewed in the literature review, it works as a point of inter-textual reflexivity. From it I 'read' visuals associated with the citizens of the Northern Cape, as well as cross-reference and substantiate some of my own observations and assumptions drawn from fieldtrips.

Chapter Six

An interactive reading of *Kalahari RainSong* and photographs¹²³

In this chapter I intend to read and appreciate interactively the photographs that are included in *Kalahari RainSong* (Bregin & Kruiper 2004), and the paintings by Vetkat Kruiper and Riekie Kruiper. My semiotic approach is holistic in that it uses the three orders of signification - icon, index and symbol - in order to make sense of various encounters. My central idea is to examine the way the Bushman are negotiating their identities in contemporary South Africa. The current conjuncture is of course the neo-liberal market economy which touts cultural tourism and crafts-making as the immediate activities that offer opportunities to formerly marginalised, largely illiterate and semi-literate people. Since some of the moods and feelings I have to describe and the allusions made cannot fit mere semiotic analysis, I use the phaneroscopic approach with its “wide angle lens” (see Fig. 1, next page)

The first order of signification would be to encounter the living icon by being-there in places and spaces where Bushmen are found. The second order would be an indexical encounter in which I read, receive and write texts about the Bushmen, and these texts include *Kalahari RainSong*, the photography and the paintings. And finally the third order of signification relates to making intelligibility out of all the symbolic encounters (Tomaselli 1996: 37).

I adopt this concept from Keyan Tomaselli’s (1996: 37) interpretation of CS Peirce’s semiotic. Tomaselli (1996) especially concedes that there are some states of feelings, mind or being that are difficult to describe in the usual Cartesian ways. This approach is suited for my attempts to incorporate my own memories in the interactive readings of the texts. Tomaselli (1996: 56) describes phanerons thus:

Phanerons are distinct from phenomena in that they need not be verifiable since they include fantastical situations, fictions, dreams, hallucinations, apprehensions, apparitions, spirit possessions etc. The phaneron is a collection or bundle of signs each of which may be signifiers of yet other associations. It is a con-text, a scene or a scenario. Other than Jungian

¹²³ Some of the photographs are credited to Nelia Oets and two others to Polly Loxton, but the rest are not credited to anyone, so this poses a problem of studying them systematically as does Linje Manyozo Mlauzi (2002) in his thesis for photographs by Paul Weinberg and Sian Dunn.

THE PHANEROSCOPIC TABLE

Source: Elaborated by K.G Tomaselli and A. Shepperson from Tomaselli (1996:37)

Orders of Signification	Peirce's Order of Philosophy	Phaneroscopy (Peirce's Categories)	2nd Trichotomy of Signs	Nature of Semiotic Interaction	Order of Discourse	Phenomenology
1	Aesthetics Description of Quality or feeling: the emotional interpretant	Firstness: Central Idea	Icon	Encounter Signifying organism's initial face-to-face reception of significant potentiality.	Polemical Aimed at evoking of emotional signs: racism, nationalism, infatuation, etc.	Being-there Strangeness at facing the new: the basic incarnate condition.
2	Ethics Analysis of norms in doing: the energetic interpretant	Secondness: Identity in the face of the Other	Denotation Index Connotation Myth	Experience Recognition or response to significance: knowing how to conduct oneself in a situation.	Rhetorical Aimed at conduct or behaviour: persuading to act <i>this</i> way instead of <i>that</i> way.	Activity/Doing work directed at making the world: producing familiar material goods.
3	Science/Logic Activity of elaborating relations: the final or logical interpretant.	Thirdness: Codes/syntagma Mode of relations	Myth Symbol: Commonsense Ideology	Intelligibility Making sense in regular ways: transmitting knowledge about relationships between encounter and experience.	Reflexive Aimed at elaborating thought on relations between emotional and active discourse: producing new responses or conduct.	Public Signs Producing the new as part of the world: changing the world with new ways of doing (habits, conduct)

A tabulation of the Peircean Trichotomy, relating signs to discourse, philosophy, and the phenomenology of the human condition. The Table is designed to be read in terms of the multiple dimensions of significance and sensibility in the ways it is possible to experience the presentation and re-presentation of the world (as defined through Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1958)).

psychology, phaneroscopy is the only philosophical concept currently available to help explain discourses threaded with the spiritual and para-normal, dimensions of belief and 'reality' excluded by the concrete emphases of First World social science.

He also further qualifies:

The phaneron implies thick description, but additionally, involves the interpretations of both producers (conceived texts) and viewers (perceived texts) into a total framework of meaning (social texts) which may have little to do with the 'reality' that photographers, filmmakers and ethnographers may have captured or explained (Tomaselli 1996: 63).

Visual representations, as firstness, whether they are fictional or documentary, are materially based texts that require materially-based processing. Visual representations such as offered by the motivated signs of realist photography and artistic pictures are also *affective*, operating at the level of secondness, in that they require interactive responses from the viewer who has to read both out of them and into them depending on the social context of the pictorial text and that of the reader. These responses are known in semiotics as interpretants, the idea to which signs give rise. Art critic Jean Fisher (2005: 234) has called this semiosis "a synaesthetic relation...between work and viewer, which is in *excess of visibility*". This excess, this something else beyond the material, operates as emotional interpretant, a perception prior to recognition and hence analysis as may be accounted for in the final immediate interpretant (intelligibility) - that which would be considered to be true by the community of scholars.

Excess involves enigmatic sensations such as the vibrations of rhythm and spatiality, a sense of scale and volume, of touch and smell, of lightness, stillness, silence and noise. All of these resonate with the body and its reminiscences and operate on the first level of "sense", while "meaning" is deferred to secondness (affect, connotation, myth) and thirdness, when sense becomes explainable via myth, which is the gateway from secondness into thirdness, accounted for by ideology, science, or religion. It is obvious that idiosyncratic interpretations of art are inevitable because this is a purely personal engagement which is only made 'public' through its expression as critique. Perhaps it is not the artistic execution or a photograph or a painting that matters, but what meanings and sensations (interpretants) it evokes in the viewer. Therefore Fisher (2005: 234) concludes:

For such reasons alone the work of art cannot be grasped in reproduction. Whilst this is obvious to a practitioner, it is not always so for an anthropologist or literary theorist, for whom art is more a cultural product than a dynamic *process* or complex set of immanent and sensuous relations. If one adds to this the fact that work springs from articulation between whatever minimal “codes” produce the recognition of a process or thing as “art”, together with the particular psychosocial history of its maker, then ultimately the meaning of any artwork is not strictly determinable and is potentially as nuanced as the number of viewers who interact with it. Insofar as it draws on local vernaculars or experience, repetitions, the “grain of the voice”, and the response of the receiver, art is closer to the *parole* of oral storytelling than most other visual or literary forms (it *is* difficult to avoid linguistic analogies!).

For those reasons of similarity between orality and the visual, I will explain the photographs included in *Kalahari RainSong* and the paintings of Vetkat and Riekie making allusions to stories heard and incidences seen. In the process, I am both interpretative and creative, since the essence of visual art is not just to applaud it as creative germs or the unique object, or dismiss it as purely executed, but to see and read, to invent, play and transform as both a receiver (decoder) and a creator (encoder). It is in this role of a viewer-creator that I feel capacitated to read and *name* photographs and paintings that otherwise are not activated and background information is not sufficiently presented about them (Fisher 2005: 234). This comes out much more clearly with regards to Vetkat’s paintings.

An Interactive Appreciation of the Photographs in *Kalahari RainSong*

Although the photographic image has been described as the iconic (first order) sign par excellence, a literal likeness of the signified original (Deacon *et al* 1999: 188), photographs are not physical imprints of the world, as it is natural that material parts of reality cannot be apprehended or re-presented except via signs (Tomaselli 1996: 62) as in, for example, a simulacrum which operates on the basis of mimicry. The spirit of an event or occasion might not be captured, and at times it might need someone who has knowledge about the photography to “activate” meaning so that what is apparent is understandable to other viewers. Photographs signify the object in an apparently direct, denotative and indisputable way, although the ‘objectivity’ of photos is relative since shot-types, shades of light and various camera angles have discursive implications. The photo-image ostensibly depicts the scene or object itself, “the literal reality”. I am thus going to inquire into photographic

elicitations and interpretations of the photos provided in *Kalahari RainSong*. These will be subjected to some form of inter-genre verification using visual observations and aural recordings that I and research colleagues have made on our respective trips to the Kalahari. The same reading and interpretation will be subjected to Vetkat and Riekie's paintings. These too are iconic in a 'fictional' imaginative way since by being named as works of art they do not necessarily claim documentary actuality as directly as do the photographs (Winston 1995). Their claim to intrinsic actuality is literary and connotative largely, although they symbolically qualify 'reality'.

My semiotic interpretations (encounter) with the photographs, and any visual representations for that matter, are premised on the central idea (firstness) that we interpret phenomena through experience (secondness, identity in the face of the other). Via these orders of signification we make the world intelligible (thirdness). Orders one and two move from the polemical (emotional signs), through the rhetorical (conduct) to the reflexive (explanation, new conduct). Individuals therefore present themselves not in person but through the mediation provided by signification, resulting in abstraction/theory (thirdness) (Tomaselli 1996: 65). Therefore, Peirce's assertion that "a reality which has no representation is one which has no relation and quality" (cf. Tomaselli 1996: 65) must subsist at the level of the fantastical, the uncanny, and the scientifically unverifiable. Since perception is sign-based and is re-presentational, what we call "nature" might actually be an order of simulation as experienced through signification. Our visual faculties absorb (interpret) images as signs, not the real thing. Hence Walter Benjamin's (1986) observation (as directly quoted by Michael Taussig) makes sense:

Nature creates similarities. One need only think of mimicry. The highest capacity for producing similarities, however, is man's. His gift of seeing resemblances is nothing other than a rudiment of the powerful compulsion in former times to become and behave like something else. Perhaps there is none of his higher functions in which his mimetic faculty does not play a decisive role (cf. Taussig 1993: 19).

In this regard, technological invention has been presented to try to 'capture' nature' and make it look alike to the real thing. Again he says, "Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction (see Taussig 1993: 20).

Echoing and developing Benjamin's insights, Taussig (1993) notes that reality is based on the magic of *contact*, and the magic of *imitation*. Elements of physics and physiology might instruct that these two features of copy and contact are steps in the same process, that a ray of light, for example, moves from the rising sun into the human eye where it makes *contact* with the retinal rods and cones to form, via the circuits of the central nervous system, a (culturally attuned) copy of the rising sun. On this line of reasoning, contact and copy merge to become virtually identical, different moments of the one process of sensing; seeing something or hearing something is to be in contact with that something (Taussig, 1993: 21). This is the world of the semiotic and imaginary where our experiences of the world are usually predicated on experience of the copy of the thing rather than the thing itself, especially with regard to our perceptions (Tomaselli 1999). Commodity-fetishism is premised on the attachment of extraneous values to commodities first thereof conceived or perceived. The eye therefore is an "organ of tactility", it "tangelises" objects, and modern visual instruments such as the camera help in this process too (Taussig 1993).

Photographs make inherent claims to representing their subjects realistically (iconically), even though 'visual metaphors' and other signficatory regimes are contested as not purely objective (Heider 1976; Mlauzi 2002; Tomaselli 1999). My study of the photography and the paintings considers the concept of imaging others, by drawing on Stuart Hall's (1997) work on representation and the circuit of culture, Jay Ruby's (2000) conceptualisation of ethnography, and Taussig's (1993: 19-32) notions of contact and imitation (as derived from Walter Benjamin) in Same-Other or Alterity relations. Since the photographs are largely affective and my responses to their exposure is based on their impressions on me, it is inevitable that the methodology of auto-ethnography is also used simultaneously with the other methodologies mentioned above (Denzin & Lincoln 2002b; 2002c; Tomaselli & Shepperson 2003; Tomaselli 2006; 2007c).

Interpreting photographs in *Kalahari Rainsong*

The photographs (motivated signs) used in *Kalahari RainSong* were carefully and sensitively selected. They are usually close-ups that evoke some intimacy and immediacy in the viewer, and one feels one is dealing with real-life people. For example, on seeing Sanna Kruiper's

head and shoulder photo (Appendix 7), and the one in which she is captured in a dance step (Appendix 8), I immediately recall the day I met her sitting at her home with other family members. We suffered a language barrier then since I had a rather incompetent translator; hence we relied on genial silences and body language. On parting, she gestured that she wanted a cigarette, and I offered her several. She gladly received them, smiling a wrinkled smile that I associate with genial old people anywhere. With the photo of Jakob and Lena Malgas sitting at their shack like a family (Appendix 9), I also recall my very first trip to the Kalahari and how their drunken stupors shocked me. Jacob was so inebriated that he could not properly cover up his delicate parts as he squatted on the sand by the roadside Bushman stall. That is the day Lena suffered the delusions she was Winnie Mandela.

The first set of photographs in *Kalahari RainSong* is in black and white. Monochrome images carry strong connotations of nostalgia, reminding us of times gone by, but they also have a complex relation to our dominant definitions of visual truth in that “we equate black-and-white photographs with realism” and the authentic. According to David Deacon *et al* (1999: 195) quite often “colour remains suspect”, but I will prove here that it actually has a different function of accentuating reality nowadays where “colour” is in vogue.

All the people in all the photographs are either smiling or they have placid but thoughtful demeanours; this applies for the second set of photographs which are in colour. Several community members and relatives appear in the photographs. The individuals depicted include Jakob Malgas and his wife Lena, Dawid and his wife Sanna, the late Elsie Witbooi or Pielie (Silikat’s late wife), Buksie, Kabys, Riekie, Silikat, Ouma Anna, and Vetkat. I recall my visits with some sense of nostalgia whenever I look at these photos, as I always do when I see anything remotely associated with the Kalahari, such as when my wife got a new job and she decided on her second day to use one of the “ladies bags” I bought from Sîsen Crafts Project. It was a pleasant surprise for me because I brought it back from the Kalahari in 2006 and she just kept it, never using it. At her new job working for an international health Non Government Organisation (NGO) my wife was going to work alongside colleagues from different races, different cultures and different countries, and It just struck me that she decided that the Bushman bag was appropriate for her first day at work. The feeling of the Kalahari again was infiltrating into cross cultural set-ups as usual, just like the composition of

my research team when we visited the Kalahari. But the bag also made me think of people there in the desert, the same way the photos included in Belinda's story make me recall those included whom I have met or just heard about. As I interacted with the photos alone, I reminisced about the people, my encounters in the Kalahari, and what they impressed on me and my research. Below, I try to actualise the phaneroscopic table by taking readers through my thought processes as I was reading the photographs, through the three orders of signification. The following are impressions deliberately presented in a jerky style to simulate the browsing of a photo 'album' of people one has come to 'know':

Sanna Kruiper (Appendix 7): Dawid Kruiper's wife. When I visited alone at the homestead I had a local interpreter who was struggling to make sense to me, and we all resorted to shy one-word talk and lots of sign language. I felt strange at facing the new (being-there) as I lacked the codes (secondness) to know how to conduct (experience) myself in the encounter. Even the 'vernacularised' English I had used with Silikat, Petrus Vaalbooi, Sussana and Tina Witbooi failed me this time as words were totally incomprehensible. There was Sanna and another old woman sitting in the sand, a fire burning outside her shack. Dawid's younger brother was there but could not speak about the ≠Khomani because he was not the leader. Dawid had gone into the veld. I had missed him again because the last time I was there with my research team we missed him as he was once again in the veld. Perhaps we shall meet one day. When I was about to leave you asked for some cigarettes. I noted on my pad: I was still smoking a lot, so I gave them to you. You appear in another picture dancing to guitar music wearing rattle-seed-ankle bangles above black flat shoes - a nice contrast with unfathomable semiotic significance pertaining to modernity and tradition"¹²⁴ (see Appendix 8). It only makes it futile to carry a ledger to jot in items of modernity against items of tradition. But the pose in the picture is fabulous: that surely is an old woman's dance, hands neatly folded behind the back and tilted ahead. "You are dancing to the music played on guitar by Oupa Sigraan, and Kabys is also dancing with you. Your faces smile, and I can only speculate you are singing songs of joy, yet I know that problems can also make people smile"¹²⁵. *Nhamo inosekesa kunga rugare*, we say in Shona (Problems make you laugh as if they are splendid). I cannot tell the tonality of the music and do not have the necessary tools to understand the entire context of this dance unless I am to engage in some photo elicitation in which those

¹²⁴ Fieldnotes, Northern Cape 21-24 August 2006

¹²⁵ Personal notes jotted in August in 2008 on seeing the photographs in *Kalahari Rainsong* (Bregin and Kruiper 2004)

who were there on the day recall. However, even their recollections cannot capture the mood and timbre, which I doubt the filmic representation can ever manage to capture. For example, on video we can only correctly guess the weather, mood and feelings in the people involved on that particular day, an approximation, but never repeatable. These are fleeting ephemeral moments and what we treasure are memories, simulations, copies of copies.

Lena and Jakob Malgas (Appendix 9): On viewing this photo when I first read *Kalahari Rainsong* (Bregin and Kruiper 2004) in August 2008, in Durban, I wrote: “I smile to myself because in the picture you look dignified and sober. I pray you have more days like this. The last time I met you at Witdraai both of you were stone drunk, Lena hanging on to the Sani and delaying our departure because you didn’t want us to go and you had delusions of being Winnie Mandela (so I was told by Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, because those are the only words I could pick out from a drawled drunken gibberish). Were they delusions of grandeur or you visualising yourself fighting for women’s rights against domestic violence which we understand you suffered a lot until you left Jacob your husband? We were all impatient, wanted to drive off but were careful not to cause an accident, so we had to wait until you drew off from the car and we sped off, because we had a long journey back to Durban to think about. We couldn’t shout or be rude or stern to you, I don’t know why, you just distressed us and we felt helpless, and were relieved to see your figure recede as the car drove off”¹²⁶.

Alcohol has its stupefying effects on all of us and Linje has captured that moment of weakness when you sat looking haggard and tired by the roadside (Manyozo 2002). Belinda would not add such a photo into the *Kalahari RainSong*, but with due respect she narrates the drunken brawls in the rest of the community. Is it that photography (the raw iconic encounter/representation) is much more poignant and revealing than the written word (thirdness, symbolic), written in English and not Afrikaans or Nama that are relatively accessible to the ≠Khomani? It could be true, because photographic outrage will always draw much more attention (polemical/rhetorical) than does the worst printed linguistic material. The iconic immediacy of the pictorial has a ‘shock effect’ (at the level of the rhetorical) on the sensitivity of people, and honestly a vivid description of a gory scene is less jarring than

¹²⁶ Personal notes jotted in August in 2008 on seeing the photographs in *Kalahari Rainsong* (Bregin and Kruiper 2004)

its equivalent pictorial representation. I recall the bitter battle over the AIDS photographs which Alexandra Von Stauss (2004) wrote about, but could not really resolve who was 'othering' who – nothing is that clear and straight forward. They surely have different effects in their orders of signification, the iconic wielding strength to claim 'reality' over the 'indexical' printed word which ironically conveys a similar reality only that in the third order of signification their intelligibility is relative depending on who eventually interprets.

Silikat van Wyk: I wrote: "You talked yourself round and round, your words stealthily and craftily reaching for my pockets but I was aware of it. To me it was a game. When I was leaving I surprised you by giving you R50. You burst into tears and said you knew one of yours was coming that day. I don't think those tears were part of the front stage act. All those workmen at the construction site looking at us curiously, you and Hans in your traditional dress and obviously tipsy, and, I, the stranger in spectacles who was prepared to sit by the roadside on the sand and spend more than an hour talking to you"¹²⁷.

Their rustic and squalid abodes, often a motley assemblage of cardboard and waste corrugated sheets, are also presented photographically and a sense of entitlement over these created by identifying them by their owners names, such as "Kabys's house" or "Jakob and Lena's Shack" (Appendix 10). Belinda and Vetkat's own home (at Blinkwater) of simple thatch is shown. The photograph (Appendix 11) disconcertingly titled "Shacks at Welkom" shows through a wide-cast long-shot flat sandy ground, and bordering dotted patches of desert vegetation, a windmill in the far background, and in middle ground there are three well-spaced shacks with people standing outside each to show family life. The way one shack is distanced from the next so spaciouly but roughly equidistance from each other, as if paying meticulous attention to land ownership and private 'property' (space). They have created a linear settlement which is a visual parody of modern formal linear housing urban settlements. It is intriguing for a people normally associated with cyclic designs, such as sitting or dancing round a burning fire with its symbolism of psychic and emotional connection and wholeness, that for 'urbanity' they prefer linearity.

¹²⁷ Again personal notes jotted in August 2008 when reminiscing about Silikat on seeing his picture in *Kalahari Rainsong* (Bregin and Kruiper 2004).

This photography in black and white is a graphic reflection of the subaltern community that Belinda is writing about, a community without even the basic social amenities such as running water and toilets. The big iron three-legged pots common among poor rural communities without electricity, kettles and old battered buckets feature a lot in the pictures. An old disused metal bed base appears in one shack photo. This is normal homestead life with the occasional family dog in the picture too. Their houses are the type of informal structures that are destroyed as “dirt” in my country because they are not part of any formally endorsed rural and urban development plan. The low classes and the poverty they represent symbolise dirt - hence Zimbabwe’s *Operation Murambatsvina/Operation Restore Order* which was condemned by the United Nations (UN) as excessive and harsh on the poor (see Chimedza 2008; Vambe 2008).

The squatters at Joe Slovo settlement are taking the city council to court so that their shacks are not destroyed. I wonder whether this would ever come to the seeming ‘remote’ environs of Welkom, yet only a hundred kilometres away at Witdraai there are tell-tale signs - the Mier Municipality publicising a notice of the intended urban ordering and structuring. They duly notified as per the relevant act of parliament following the rituals of the law and its demands for adherence. When I visited in 2006 there was a notice inviting people to submit their objections to the intentions to start a residential suburb in the area. The notification had expired a few days before my arrival, and I imagined myself a local Afrikaaner farmer who wanted to maintain the status quo, but fate has it that I cannot submit my objections because I had been away in Australia or somewhere only to find this ‘revolution’ underway!

What are absent in *Kalahari Rainsong* pictures representing abodes of Welkom are those durable looking grey brick houses with asbestos roofs built along the road to the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP). I remember visiting this small ‘township’ with my research team in 2002, and we had dinner with the people sitting in the open yard outside by the fire in the evening. While we were received well and treated with respect, this is a poor settlement without any proper industry to sustain its. On talking to the elderly people in the community they sounded abject and disappointed. They were not allowed to keep small animals for

personal subsistence. “See where I am (now). I am amongst the houses. Nothing! No chicken, no dogs¹²⁸ around, nothing!” said Oom Appi to me (interview, 4 April 2002).

People complain about the dust as if it is a personification of stagnation. Their tone is unlike the apparent romanticising we hear from Belinda and Vetkat when they talk about the Kalahari sands. The silent anger in her voice, the frustration and pain behind it disturbed any myth about the romantic Kalahari which I normally read and hear about. Yet so many testimonies are also there of these very same people eulogising the sand and the Kalahari, the land they are glad and not so glad too that they have recovered after years of dispossession. This is a community of mainly illiterate lumpen-proletariats -- some of them are elderly people who have been retired from menial jobs in white people’s residential homes in neighbouring towns. They cleaned homes, ironed clothes, and did any other handwork that did not need specialised skills.

Griet (Appi): I don’t know where to start. I don’t know. I’ve been thinking about this and about that and people...people arrive and then we hear they’ve had a meeting and the manager never comes to us to say: ‘This is so...and that is so. This is what we have decided’. We have no clue what is happening. We are stuck here at Welkom. We have to pay for our water, we have to pay for the right to sleep somewhere. We are not allowed to keep anything. We cannot keep chickens or a dog. Everything is due to circumstances. We are stuck...We are stuck. If we could have one goat...but we have no grazing land for it. It is really very hard on us. In the morning when I get up I have to ... someone asks this and another asks that. And eventually it gets too much. I’ve had enough of working for them. I have worked too much. I can’t anymore. And my old husband, he can’t even see properly. We’ve had it. It’s only the two of us there at that house...wooden house. Just the two of us (interview, 4 April 2002).

The poignant hopelessness and desperation was expressed by old Griet, an elderly lady and wife to Oom Appi¹²⁹. She is aged, but life is not any easier and things are not going any

¹²⁸ The ≠Khomani Bushmen never indicated to me that they eat dogs. I strongly think that Oom Appi’s reference to dogs in this instance was an indication of the need to own them for the purposes of hunting game. Contemporary Bushmen now use dogs for hunting but in the past they only used poisoned bows and arrows (Marshal Thomas 1959). However, it cannot be totally dismissed that very hungry and poor Bushmen can resort to eating anything, including strange animals. An example that immediately comes to mind is the justification made by hungry Bushmen hunters in Paul Myburgh’s *People of the great sandface* (1985) to eat something that looks like a wild dog. That is what God had provided!

N.B. I deliberately used Oom Appi’s diction here with all its ambiguities, in order to capture the flavour of the ethnographic moment, and also reinforce the fact that the reception and construction of meaning is always in flux (see also Causey 2003).

better. She is forced to work to fend for herself, yet her body is no longer willing. Every day she co-exists with others around her who are in the same predicament of hopelessness. And there seem not to be any answers. The elders make such an impassioned lamentation, reassuring us that they are not particularly asking for anything from us. I recognise the human distress and I am found in a difficult position. The research ethical code¹³⁰ insists that we make no unreasonable and unfulfillable promises to the communities we work with, as a way of maintaining the highest standards of honesty and integrity. We are there to observe and chronicle, and at best influence the transformation and implementation of policy and the creation of better understanding between communities and various stakeholders, including government agencies, NGOs, development work practitioners, and other researchers.

Their impassioned pleas make me feel inadequate as a young man in some respect, since given Africa's history the young ought to be the "insurance" of the old. It would then be a failure to remain dependent even on the meagre pension remittances of an elderly citizen as these folks described, yet this seems to be a prevalent practice in South Africa where many unemployed people across races and ethnicity depend on social service allocations to children, the physically handicapped and the aged. I am inevitable called upon by the situation to reiterate our position and capabilities as researchers. When the translator translates my feelings and aspiration to them, Oom Appi and Griet responded so touchingly, so understandingly and so humanly (interview, 4 April 2002):

Jody¹³¹: He says he feels that you two should see him as just a young man who is trying to better things in this community. And his project is to let people on the other side know about your situation here. Maybe that would change things. It is his duty as a young man.

¹²⁹ I interviewed the trio Thys, Ooma Appi and Griet during the same session and my translator Jody just gave their names as such without making it clear whether these were their first names only. Since I only realised the oversight in the translated transcriptions at the time I could not immediately establish that I was not sure about their surnames.

¹³⁰ See "The University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Ethics Policy", <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Uploads/3a8ad31d-392a-456c-a028-d60d2480f073/Research%20Ethics%20Policy%20V%20%20-%20Final%20rec%20from%20ACB%2031%20July%202007%20sen%2030%20may%202007%20and%20council%2029%20june%202007.doc>.

¹³¹ Surname unknown because it was not provided in the translated transcriptions.

Oom Appi: Yes... to try.

Griet: Oooh ... my darling! I would appreciate that ... if we can solve the problem.

I remember smiling with my eyes feeling some wetness.

Again it is here at Welkom on this day that the local youths reiterated to me that they chose their Bushmen identities because that is what they preferred and regard those who question them as Bushmen as misguided elements. Dawid Kariseb made his aggressive claim to being a Bushman because his mother is sister to Dawid Kruiper. This was an articulation of identity which whether we reduce it to an opportunistic identification with the First People, is still valid because a semblance of family genealogy is being created and established, and above all, that is what sense of belonging is available for the young man which he insists on. On that alone he should be respected if only it is a matter of choice. Again, insisting on a family genealogy that emphasises on paternal relations might be viewed as overly 'western' and hegemonic, thus exclusionary with regards to other possible sites of identity and senses of belonging.

Belinda's story, complemented by the photographs, is clear testimony to the ambiguities and vicissitudes of life for the ≠Khomani. Two full page black-and-white photographs show close shots of hands at work producing crafts (in one the sand is the convenient 'desktop'). The two photos are captioned "Making a bow & necklace" and "Piercing bark to make a necklace" in typical ethnographic labelling (Appendices 12 & 13). They are referents to arts and craft production which is done either at home or by the roadside *stalletjies* (stalls) where working Bushmen wait for tourists and customers. There, craft-making is an intrinsic part of the front-stage ethnographic self-performance by the Bushmen. Business is conducted right there for both filming of stall attendants often wearing *!xai* and *!xu* (groin thongs for men and women respectively) but with the entire body naked. Infants and toddlers are often completely naked. Tourists pay for shooting the photographs in the same way they pay for arts and crafts on sale, or for merely talking to the Bushmen (Appendix 14). Such encounters are highly commoditised, as the Khomani sell their exoticised popular image. These are the front-stage encounters during which anything is possible, drunkenness and begging, and touching sad stories, or fun and laughter, as when Kobys¹³² tells us of the "cupid's arrow" when trying to

¹³² See Mlauzi's (2002a) video for this character.

sell us a miniature bow and arrow at his stall. This is the place of drama as when I visited and Silikat and his workman Hans tried fortune telling, asking for coins from which they would read my life, drawing things on the ground, and eventually taking the coins for themselves as part of the divination.

The crafts on display, the small burning fire and the crouching busy Bushmen would attract the curiosity of tourists, who would then make a stop-over on their journey into the KTP. Once engaged in conversation, mostly in Afrikaans, subtle persuasions to acquire something for yourself or your loved ones immediately start. Emblems are etched (burnt) skilfully into pieces of animal bones, and small seeds are pierced and knitted with leathery string to make necklaces and wall-hangers. Those two photos “Making a bow & necklace” and “Piercing bark to make a necklace” symbolise the main “industry” for the ‘traditional’ ≠Khomani who heavily rely on cultural tourism for their sustenance. This is the industry of the lumpen-proletariat, who is not educationally well equipped to survive in the postcolonial liberal economy. Pictures representing experiences at the stalls by the roadside are not included in the book *Kalahari RainSong* although Belinda refers to these activities in the main oral narrative. The two pictures with working hands are referent to these practices, but they can also be referent to the Sîsen Craft Project which sells crafts made by people from the local community.

Indeed, there are also times of joy and merriment in this poor community, times when the sheer resilience of the human spirit, love and trust triumph over the usual petty squabbles, poverty and jealousies. Some of these photographs show this conviviality and a semblance of social cohesion in spite of the poverty and the prevalent cases of alcoholism, abuse and violence. Photographs showing the community gathered around a fire and sharing beverages from zinc mugs at the “Red House” show how tender and natural is the human spirit for sociability and tranquillity. This is the famous Red House which Dawid Kruiper built - perhaps he visualised it as a culture centre or a future ≠Khomani Parliament Building where pressing matters of the day could be discussed. In fact, important meetings have been conducted there before.

I remember when I visited it was empty and forlorn, and Belinda was bemoaning that the people did not meet as often those days. There were some graffiti scrawled onto the pink

walls. Another photo shows Kabys playing a guitar by the fire and Oupa Sigraan and Sanna dancing to the music. Of the black and white photos there is one head and shoulder photo of Belinda caught talking with measured passion, lips firm and mouth not too wide open as if to suggest eloquent rational, a nearly indiscernible fold of the brow to show the sincerity, but otherwise a smooth glowing skin, and wizened dark eyes intently look ahead as if staring into infinity (Appendix 15). It in a subliminal way underlines Belinda's claims to being an oracle for the voiceless in her adopted family; an identity and role which we within CCMS prefer to classify as that of an "organic intellectual" (Gramsci 1971). In her (auto)biography Belinda Kruiper has complained that some unscrupulous "European" filmmakers make the ≠Khomani act in semi-pornographic movies (Bren & Kruiper 2004). Belinda, as an "organic intellectual", could as well be chiding such European filmmakers who make the Bushmen do anything for money, even making them act out in some blue-movies¹³³ without their express consent; she could be speaking of her husband's 'sacred art' she calls "artventures", or it could be just about anything she feels strongly about and thinks she can talk over. She speaks about the people she holds dear, but whose weaknesses she finds are debilitating and corrosive and would rather she keeps them at a distance as she lives at Blinkwater away from the fighting and drunkenness, whilst remaining one of them. Belinda: "when I think of you I understand what respect means, and that any person's choices should command respect. Vetkat's pictures also feature, either sitting with Belinda or a head and shoulder's shot that shows him meditative and looking ahead. The Kalahari philosopher and artist. I will always miss him and this thesis is an eulogy to him in many ways, a way of coming to terms with inevitable loss of talent and hope in a poverty stricken community. It is with this in mind that I cherished critically rethinking the works that you painted"¹³⁴.

Riekie's photo which is also included is purposeful thematically and psycho-spiritually. Belinda describes him as the one who "understood spirit, lived close to it, and obeyed its promptings", albeit a potentially good spirit unfortunately driven by "devils" most of his life until he reformed and became an artist (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 50; Appendices 16 & 31). Riekie's head-and-shoulder photo is taken against the background of a clear blue cloudless sky that dissolves and merges with the light-reddish ground to give an ephemeral feel as if

¹³³ Semi pornographic films.

¹³⁴ Personal notes jotted while reading *Kalahari Rainsong* (Bregin and Kruiper 2004) in August 2008 and viewing the pictures.

Riekie is a bust floating in the heavens. This picture filling half a page, reinforces Belinda's mysterious description of the Riekie's spiritual intensity – an intensity which is visually reinforced through the camera technique of shots taken with shadows. His brow and eyes in particular are indiscernible, shrouded in shadow. The larger part of his naked chest and left shoulder are also in shadow. Yet where light shines on his face he glistens, and his neck veins are taut, his mouth slightly opened in something like a smile. His appearance explains why Belinda regarded him as an intensely spiritual man connected to the paranormal world.

It is amongst the last colour photographs in the book that eight of Vetkat's paintings and the late Riekie Kruiper's single known preserved production appear (Appendix 31). Again, these evoke sensibilities that Belinda has been writing about; especially what is spiritual and supernatural.

This chapter started with an explicit rendering of the phaneroscopic table, but I sublimated the technical application in order to allow my own emotional interpretants (firstness: being-there, the nature of the encounter) to permit the central idea (Bushmaness) to emerge in relation to my own subjectivity (as a researcher, black, male and Zimbabwean, my identity in the face of the other). As a PhD student, I am in the business of Science/Logic and must find a way of making my research intelligible and reflexive, by offering explanation - that which would be considered to be true via the final immediate interpretant (thirdness). The phaneroscopic table was applied in an attempt to disaggregate perceptions - theirs and mine - and to analyse my own practice (ethics, doing) as I negotiated my way towards some kind of explanation on the nature of my encounters, not only with the book *Kalahari RainSong*, but also with its two authors and all of those photographically depicted in it who are known personally to me.

They are not simply tropes or icons lacking quality; they are for me real people whose conditions of life I know well, and whose livelihood is linked to tourism. They construct themselves 'Bushman' for the tourists and very often for themselves, as they require this simulacrum to earn a living. They use the signs of antiquity to make their worlds in the postmodern era. Their encounter with modernity is polemic (aimed at creating pity),

rhetorical (persuading tourists to donate money or to buy crafts) and reflexive (using language and story-telling to locate researchers as part of the chain of exploitation or reward).

They use these strategies to elicit appropriate philanthropic conduct on the part of visiting researcher, by claiming a unique apprehension of knowledge (material, cultural and fantastical), of which has a price (see Tomaselli 2003). Identity can be exchanged, bought and sold. It can be invested (activity), modified and denied. Consider, for example, McLennan-Dodd's (2003) analysis of how Silikat persuades her to purchase trinkets by hailing her in Nama as a 'morning star'. Initially, at the polemical and rhetorical levels Vanessa thinks she has been assigned 'Bushman identity'; later she realises that what she interprets as a third level of signification is a ploy of secondness by Silikat to sell her something. These are the rhetorical strategies used by people who are the objects of the tourist, journalist and researcher gaze. Sophisticated as they are, these strategies are both intentionally and unconsciously applied in encounters by the observed with regard to the observers. Here, as observers I and my CCMS colleagues have begun to analyse these rhetorical strategies in order to understand more about the nature of the encounter between guests and hosts. After presenting the iconic figures of Silikat van Wyk and Belinda Kruiper in these preceding chapters, it is befitting that #Khomani 'artist par excellence', the late Vetkat Kruiper, receives his due credits. Chapter Seven pays tribute to Vetkat Kruiper's paintings, reading them using an amalgamation of aesthetic theoretical analysis and a Jungian (1973a/b; 1977) approach amongst other critical tools.

Chapter Seven

Vetkat Kruiper and his Postmodern Art

The critical appreciation of Bushmanness and Zuluness in the previous chapters has largely been predicated on the ‘theatrical’ bodily displays and visual performances of the related people. Analysis and appreciation of ethnographic displays especially at specified cultural villages has found much more attention, and notions of ‘front-stage’ and ‘back-stage’ have assisted in understanding the ethnographic phenomena of the Zulu and the Bushmen. I will now examine some ‘inanimate’ cultural productions of the Bushmen with respect to an aesthetic (consideration of artistic beauty) appreciation. I chose the paintings of Vetkat Kruiper and a lone painting by Riekie Kruiper (who incidentally belong to the ≠Khomani community of the Northern Cape) in order to subject their works to critical aesthetic analysis¹³⁵. I focus on the artistic productions of Vetkat Kruiper because I incidentally managed to meet and see the artist when his work was made available to me. My criteria for evaluating the paintings by distinguished ≠Khomani artists “(blend) aesthetics (theories of beauty), ethic (theories of ought and of right) and epistemologies (theories of knowing); I blend these criteria and fit them pragmatically within the socio-political concrete situation of the Northern Cape and beyond (Denzin and Lincoln 2002b; 229). Besides critiquing the artistic execution in the paintings, this chapter also enables me to critique the dominant discourse on ‘sameness’ and difference counterpoised on contemporary Bushmanness as articulated by one of the ≠Khomani’s most gifted artists.

It is tempting to try to look in Bushman art for ethnic archetypical motifs, and so fall in the humdrum of racial “othering”, “ghettoising black art”, and in the process exclude the art itself from serious rigorous critique. This normally happens when the quirky stylistic techniques or the execution of the art form by the artist as an individual are not seriously considered. Art criticism is implicated in merely looking at or addressing the experience of the work by artists from the marginalised societies within the commodifiable parameters of background

¹³⁵ In future, I hope to identify a contemporary Zulu artist and studied his or her individual creations outside the rather communal productions associated with commercial ethnographic cultural villages. This might be an arts and crafts maker who is self-conscious of his artistic calling and production; or it might be a painter like Vetkat Kruiper.

and context. An anomaly has thus emerged which has deeply affected the relation between art from the black and non-European artist and the Western art system – its historiography, market, aesthetic, and critical values. If a marginalised artist's work shows greater visibility in terms of homogenous racial or ethnic context, that artist's voice at a personal level is often muted and indistinguishable. The galleries and museums are accused of perpetuating exoticisation of such works of cultural marginality, even though they are exhibiting more non-European artists on a selective and representative basis, the reason being the selected artists are still required by some vague law to “demonstrate appropriate signs of cultural difference” (Fisher 2005: 234-235). The works of contemporary Bushmen painters have barely received important critical appreciation, and the comprehensive body of literature is largely preoccupied with pre-colonial rock art (Lewis-Williams 2000; 2002; Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989).

For this reason, I want to appreciate Vetkat Kruiper's artistic skills and devices for what they are in their own right. I will introduce Vetkat's formalist techniques of painting symbolic and simple geometric motif, his workmanship on painting animals and mythical figures, repetitive designs, artefacts and objects with figural components using these rough generic classifications as borrowed from Geoffrey Williams' (1971) work on traditional African designs. The critical analysis of formalist techniques in the pictures by Vetkat and Riekie Kruiper is an attempt to make their identities personal and nuanced but still steeped in the larger ethnic socio-cultural composition. However, I should also state clearly that I use formalism so that context and thematic concerns alone associated with identity do not overshadow aesthetic theory, but give allowance for some hermetic formalist critique that enable us to read the contemporary Bushman paintings within world trends.

Jean Fisher (2005: 234) aptly writes that such a formalist approach allows us to critique “asking how we might more effectively understand the process of art, especially where cross-cultural symbolic orders are employed, without making them a sub-category of, say, anthropology or sociology”. The argument is that subjecting Vetkat and Riekie's paintings to formalist critiques will expose “the diversity of modernisms” as these Kalahari artists inflect their own modernisms through the specific context of their culture. Others are doing similar but different things to art in other parts of the world, including the developed northern

hemisphere, especially those in the cubism traditions who confess original influences to their creative movement from African art and designs (Fisher 2005)¹³⁶.

Vetkat's art draws human beings as silhouettes: monochromatic impressions that are cast in flat visual representation, such as Appendices 18 and 20. He never paints figures in what 'western' trained minds would describe as three-dimensional space. The humans are related to the Bushman stylistic tradition seen on rock paintings scattered all over Southern Africa, but they do not show the elongated features and the angularities of their older resemblances as demonstrated in Williams' archetypal designs borrowed from rock paintings (1971: 94). The limbs appear as if they are executed with linear geometric precision towards straightness, with the lower limb joining the upper limb at a sharp angle. The human's legs do not have feet but have pointed epicentres that symbolically give them gravitational balance.

The humans may or may not have heads, which if they are present are monochromatic blobs not always attached to the torso (see Appendices 22 & 23). The flatness of the visual representation and the monochromic rounded blobs give a dramatic impact of dissolving facial features. In terms of his thematic concerns revolving around identity and sensitivity to a universal moral ecology, as well as the cryptic stylistic execution in which an icon derives or imparts various meanings to various people, Vetkat qualifies to be called a postmodern artist.

The creation of facial blanks and the use of silhouettes in general, is a strategic technique used by postmodern artists in order to make statements about politics of any forms of identity, be it race, gender, or any other type of identity. The optical flatness and monochromatic figures imply absence of identity in identity. In their lack of three-dimensionality Bushman paintings can be seen as stereotypical, but albeit a stereotype with intrinsic psychological depth. Stereotypes are particularly charged representational units against which individual identities are produced. The struggle to reframe stereotypical images is central to an anti-racist, anti-homophobic and feminist politics, and the question is how best this can be done visually (Joselit 2005: 303-305). The monochromatic simple drawing in

¹³⁶ Modern European art commonly referred to as modernism has seen its leading practitioners such as Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque acknowledging influences of African artworks. Picasso was introduced by Matisse, an enthusiastic collector of 'primitive' African sculpture to such works, which were regarded as an antidote to the excessively academic 'civilised' art. For Picasso African art from an aesthetic level was essentially simple, yet lively, expressive and its design perfectly abstract (Hyman, 1994: 4).

its presentation might immediately look stereotypical, but in the same vein it wields its strength to dispel the negative forces of identity and life. One artist, Kara Walker, who uses silhouettes quite effectively, claims of silhouettes that “it’s a blank space but it is not at all a blank space, it is both there and not there” (see Joselit 2005: 304). David Joselit (2005: 304) writes:

This formal oscillation between positive and negative, body and shadow, black and white, captures the insidious nature of the stereotype. Stereotypes, like Walker’s silhouettes, are always “both there and not there”; they are blank in their generality, and yet powerfully present in their introjections by the stereotyped subjects and their racial others. Walker’s works present themselves as malfunctioning templates, switching on and off from presence to absence.

Vetkat’s figures might appear simple, but they are products of a great deal of skill, and their strength is in expressing psychic effect on the viewer, especially when the simple silhouettes remind us to reconsider identity notions and politics of all kinds. Vetkat must surely have been aware of identity politics at a personal level given that he married a “coloured” woman, and this elicited tensions and jealousies in the ≠Khomani community that has a long history of marrying within, even to the extent of being incestuous. Notwithstanding this, Vetkat was a member of a social group that has probably suffered the worst forms of racism of being denied their humanity by powerful forces in society (Bregin & Kruiper 2004).

Similarly, birds, animals and mythical figures are drawn in black. Mythical figures bearing resemblance to a transmogrified man-animal have been recorded in Southern Africa (Williams 1971: 91), and Vetkat makes his innovations on these to the extent of giving these mythical figures vegetative ‘heads’. Artefacts and objects with figural components include guns, whips, bows and arrows, axes, and patchwork quilt. Interestingly, the latter is traditionally a cultural product of the folk art of rural America which we now find represented in art by an artist of Bushman descent, just to show the multiculturalism to which the artist aspired. The same would apply to the geometric representation of the star which looks like that normally used by the Greek Orthodox Church, again attestation for the attempts to go beyond inspiration that is ethnically parochial, and claim world heritage and folklore as equally his own. In my reading, I view Vetkat’s repetitive geometric designs as representing strains of light, rays, semen or urine, and rain. Vetkat represents these by

sketching a series of parallel linear but disjointed scratches going in a gravitational direction (see the painting Vetkat named “Ja! of Nee!” – Appendix 28). Although they have geometric precision, inscriptions are drawn in a deliberately childlike fashion typical of works by children, self-taught artists or the insane (Franc 1992: 150), although the style actually parodies naivety by dealing with subject matter that might be complex and highly sexual.

In spite of the dominance of monochromatic figures, Vetkat usually varies these with open spaces or decorative pictures that enliven with colour and delicately textured surfaces. The few that have an intense/dense use of figures and look severe, however, retain a level of visible legibility, and they can be read section upon section, row upon row, until they create a cumulative impact on the viewer such as the picture Appendix 17¹³⁷ which fills the page with a jumbled panorama of creatures, vegetation and terrain. This painting is too dense to be like a rock painting, but the one-dimensional execution has parallels with pre-historic Bushmen artistic traditions.

Having looked at the formal stylistic techniques, I will then combine art theory with, semiotics, anthropology and Jungian approaches to make meaning out of the pictures, still bearing in mind that my reading is an interactive activity in which I am also creating meaning out of the pictures which otherwise are “dominant” if left “unread” and uninterrupted. In constructing reality out of the visual impressions made by Vetkat, and later the single one by Riekie, the Jungian approach will assist with understanding the “unconscious” or “subconscious” that is in human nature that might have answers to mankind’s happiness, peace and stability within the context of a postmodern world characterised by its stressful realities. Vetkat’s art might well reveal some cultural archetypes from the general Bushman unconscious, but Keyan Tomaselli (2003: 64) observes the images portrayed also reflect contemporary conditions:

¹³⁷ Given that most of Vetkat’s paintings do not have names, he simply signed them by his name and dated them by year of construction; For the purposes of this thesis, I therefore catalogued the paintings and refer to them as numbered appendices. However, in the instance of two pictures, namely “Africa” and “Ja! Of Nee!” I simply adopted the referential words written by the artist himself on the paintings. It is debatable whether Vetkat meant these specific words to be the names of the individual pictures or not. If this logic of thinking is pursued it would be difficult to apply it to a picture such as the one I refer to as “God is good”, which is clustered with lexical statements which could all be used as potential self-referential names. In this case, “God is Good” is a translated statement written on the painting by the author himself, which I then adopted as the name of the painting.

Media reflections of the San tend to withhold information about the extent to which such communities are in fact both inhabitants in, and the consequences of, politics, economics, and modernity. Media obscure information about the extent to which those imaged- and who like Vetkat make images are often merely of a performance of primitivity, not primitivity itself. Primitivity is the cultural commodity sold to earn an income.

Contemporary ≠Khomani artists use surfaces such as shales, ostrich shells and paper for their paintings. Curiously, there is no rock art presence or tradition in the Northern Cape region because of the geomorphologic terrain. Because Vetkat is not working within a strong tradition, his work is not dependent on (nor fettered by) previous works, so he can be more inventive. The local artists who incidentally show traces of influences of the old art, and who somehow imitate these older paintings, could only have seen iconic resemblances of these elsewhere. Their most likely sources are museums, books and magazines and films. Whilst Belinda Kruiper gives the impression that her husband Vetkat had no such direct influence from the older existing art forms, it should be accepted that Vetkat had travelled outside the Kalahari as he participated in the performative Bushman community that was created at the Kagga Kamma Game Park opened for visits by tourists just before the land restoration by the post-apartheid ANC government on 21 March 1999. We can speculate on the possibilities of various sources of influence, and even problematise that he was actually discovered as an artist at a South African San Institute organised art workshop at Witdraai. To insist on Vetkat strictly being an intuitive artist might therefore sound tantalising and romantic, but it can lead to a mystification that falls into the problematic space of stereotypification and essentialising, especially the idea of skills being inborn and “typically” or easily “explainably” so Bushman. In fact, in self-contradictory moments, Belinda reveals how Vetkat was badly affected by the “Bushmen diorama” at the South African museum in Cape Town when they visited before the diorama was closed. It is said that as Vetkat looked at the still Bushmen representations he felt he was looking at his other self, which could not breathe (Mlauzi 2002b: 101). Mummification and its symbolisation of death has its eerie feeling that it leaves on the observer, especially when one is from the generic group and one realises you are looking at representations of your own persecuted and humiliated ancestors. Such a reflexive reaction is understandable, and it might then filter somehow into the paintings. There is nothing dramatically amiss about inventing tradition or re-imagining the past (Ranger 1983; Hobsbawn 1983). What is important is to avoid essentialistic, exclusionary, and inhibitive

perceptions that deny people full respect, dignity and discovery of potentials and opportunities.

Some black artists proffer spiritual possession or mystical sources as their sources of creativity, ostensibly to create a mysterious thus exciting aura around them. I have heard many Zimbabwean Shona sculptors and *mbira*¹³⁸ music players mention dreams and ancestral spirit possession to explain the origin of their art. Usually, this forestalls any intellectualisation or historicisation of the work as individually distinctive, by those very same artists as they do not problematise form and content, or craftsmanship in general since everything is predetermined by an omnipresent force beyond themselves. Such presentations obviously fall within the folklore cultural discourse of an artist's ethnic group and their cosmological outlook. Art criticism has presented a dilemma with the tendency to project an ethnic label to art, which label I would also find permeating in the discussion of an artist who claims an identity of Bushmanness but denies his or her own cognitive contributions as if to further mystify creativity. Mystification, or alternatively self-promotion through the commodified signs of ethnicity might make some strategic sense for the identity and economic survival of black or marginalised artists. This approach nonetheless renders such artists and their promoters complicit with the Western desire for the exotic other. In the hegemonic struggles over the centuries, Caucasians have put their scholarship, arts and culture on a pedestal as superior, and have then 'othered' whatever they deemed different, using that as a comparative measurement for its own superiority. The danger of mystification and exoticisation of an artist is that he or she is "marked not as *a thinking subject and individual innovator* in his and her own right, but as a bearer of prescribed and homogenized cultural signs and meanings" (Fisher 2005: 235 - emphasis mine). They are confined to the first order of signification as represented in the collective unconscious that is represented in the 'central idea' and are denied secondness, a specific individual identity in the face of the other. The problem is serious:

To be locked into the frame of ethnicity is also to be *locked out of a rigorous philosophical and historical debate* that risks crippling the work's intellectual development and excluding it from the global circuit of ideas where it rightfully belongs. But the problem remains how to

¹³⁸ The *mbira* is An African musical instrument consisting of a hollow gourd or wooden resonator and a number of usually metal strips that vibrate when plucked. It is often played at a Shona religious ceremony called Bira, in which ancestral spirits speak through mediums (see definition on <http://www.answers.com/topic/mbira>).

create a place from which it is possible to speak and to be heard without compromising one's life experience whatever its source(s) (Fisher 2005: 235 - emphasis mine).

Debates about 'authenticity' or the lack of it have pervaded academia with regards to lifestyles and works of art and crafts by people from cultures formerly classified as "traditional". Martin Sahlins (2002: 3-5) observes that such doubts about the 'authenticity' of contemporary non-Europeans' lifestyles or other forms of cultural expression as compared to an old imagined untainted state for their behaviour, is patronising and racist. Whilst the concept of "invention of tradition" has European epistemological roots as it was used to describe and explain changing lifestyles on the continent in relation to their perceived past ways of practice, it is ironic that the same people of European descent look askance when non-Caucasians use the same concept of invention to their own contexts and realities.¹³⁹ Reinvention is then regarded as a contrivance. The question then is when is the invention of a people's traditions actually a sign of their genuine cultural rebirth and the crafting of a progressive future; and alternatively, when is the "copying" of the past "a sign of cultural decadence, a factitious recuperation, which can only bring forth the simulacra of a dead past"? (Sahlins 2002: 3-5). I shall regard any notion of reality or authenticity as merely "perception", and again a perception which is derived or instigated by a copy of the actual thing (Baudrillard 1983: Hall 1997: Taussig 1993).

Trance-formations/Transformations – Divination and Shamanism

Since reading the paintings is a dialogic (Bakhtin 1981) experience, I activate the pictures by relying on my cultural frames to make meaning. I use Vetkat's paintings inter-textually with other media texts and my observations during my visits to the Northern Cape. Bushmen mythology and folktales are important in reading these stories, and so too are the mystical stories told to me and other researchers by Kalahari residents.

The magical transformations of man into other creatures ought to be put in socio-cultural context, and hence link them to their appearance in the paintings. Wild animals usually feature in Bushman narratives, and these animals' psychic, emotional and behavioural actions

¹³⁹ According to Sahlins (1993), European "inventors" of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for instance, re-imagined and re-invented their pagan heritage, practising the classical virtues and invoking pagan gods. Whilst these Europeans still professed being Christian, nostalgia invoked them to invent the past, but they never recaptured it in its exactitude, as this is never possible, hence "the texts and monuments they constructed were often ersatz facsimiles of classical models" (Sahlins 1993: 7).

are both equitable to, and interchangeable with those of real people. For instance, Isak Kruiper (interview, 8 September 2001) told us a story at OstriSan about men, a jackal and a wolf and their struggles and eventual attempts to reconcile, which has parallels to human struggles and contradictions. In Vetkat's paintings there are mythical figures whose physical forms verge between man, animal and tree. They are trance-like visions, and I think the artist is transforming reality with a turn of the absurd, and reconstructing things to look new. This is a very imaginative state of mind that needs some exploration.

Trance and transformation are 'mystical', and the "mystical" or "mythical" is also an ideological minefield. According to Edward Said (1978), the trend of representing or describing indigenous people as mystical has racial connotations. He explains it as the colonial Self's assumption that aboriginal people employ whole different episteme (kinds of thirdness) from the Western or colonial Self (Said 1978). It is now granted that different communities have different ways of making sense of 'reality'. Often, the former colonised aboriginal people have episteme and ontologies that are less predicated on the Cartesian logic. Their reality is not predicated on the same 'scientific' and materialistic underpinnings as those in the industrial metropolises. For example, there is no distinct separation of conception between the "sacred" (magic) and the commonplace or profane (social life) amongst narrative presentations given by aboriginal sources. A respectful "communion" of the economic and spiritual activity of hunting is observed in the episteme or phaneron, and this has been testified in most films that provide African philosophical outlook from the perspective of the ordinary African (Clelland-Stokes 2007: 35; Foster & Foster 2000; Marshall 1958; Tomaselli 1999).

In this chapter, myth should be used not in the popular parlance of meaning "false" or "lies", but in a polysemic way as used by anthropologist and semioticians who view it as "a mode of signification...an anonymously composed narrative [that] offers explanations of why the world is as it appears to be, and why people act as they do" (Tomaselli 1996: 66). Literary critic Maurice Vambe (2004) has written aptly about myth and mythopoetic narrative perspectives which are quite relevant for the analysis of Vetkat's art and various Bushmen stories about the mythical world narrated to me or my colleagues. On the 'fantastic' qualities in art and story-telling, Vambe (relying largely on Roland Barthes 1957) notes that there is fluidity, instability and liminality that mark the internal imaginative worlds of fable and folktales. He writes:

Though usually found as stories of real or fanciful animals, the fantastic traces the unsaid and the unseen of culture: that which has been silenced, made invisible, covered over and made 'absent'...The fantastic story defies literary 'borders' and transgresses the boundaries of the real experience in the realm of the spiritual world ...But fantasy is also a distinct oral genre in its own right... (Fantasy) operates in contradictory ways. It can 'tell of desire...or expel desire.' Fantasy's most powerful creative principle is its capacity to be used in ways that 'interrogate single or unitary ways of seeing' and in the process, favouring the construction of multiple narratives of reality. Where the fantastic in literature subverts the narrative stabilities established by classical realist protocols, a mythic system can be grasped in a process of becoming ... As narratives that give symbolic expression to a system of relationships between man and the universe, myths can frame communal identities. Myths give these collective structures of feeling something akin to a uniform shape (Vambe 2004: 4).

Imagining and expressing the mythical might be a manifestation of what Abraham Maslow (1937), the late humanistic psychologist has called the dimension of the ancestral state of mind called "the peak experience". Drawing a link between health and psychology, Maslow found that emotionally healthy individuals experience 'self-actualisation', epiphanic bliss and cognitive clarity (Jacobs 2004: 71). Some of Vetkat's paintings are 'hallucinatory', reflecting 'mystical transformations' when the human mind dissolves into other states of nature, as if he experiences the 'mystical' insights. The human mind and feelings merge with the immediate world and the person, animals and vegetation are one.

The Bushmen tradition of shamanism and trance is crucial in understanding Vetkat's works and cosmology. A shaman is someone who enters a trance in order to heal people, protect them from evil spirits and sickness, foretell the future, control the weather, ensure good hunting and generally try to look after the well being of their group (Wilmsen 1989). The shaman often changes into an altered state of mind or consciousness during the trance dance, in which he "becomes" another life species, such as an eland, or spirit.

The sublime intensity of Vetkat's work shows he is capable of merging or fusing with fauna and flora. This requires strong empathy with nature and all species. This perhaps is a typical archetypal Bushman quality as similar experiences are revealed by hunters when they feel like their prey. This is an altered state of mind that reveals alterity both in flow and flux, when One becomes the Other in a psychic sense but remains physically bound. This is the

first order quality of Aesthetics discussed by C.S. Peirce (1998) as represented in the phaneroscopic table.

Instead of total dissolution as such, I sense empathy and one (man) becoming the other (animal), both as an-other person or an-other object whether flora or fauna (see lower row of Appendix 18; and Appendix 19). In the film *The Great Dance: A Hunter's Story* (2000), we are told about the feeling of becoming the other even in a predatory empathetic moment of hunting down prey and agreeing that the inevitable - killing - be done. What immediately comes to mind is the episode in which the hunter runs down a kudu and it stops exhausted and reconciles itself to death. Here, in this scene, it is blissfully submissive and bares no grudge or rancour towards its hunter. "The Eland and the Bushman and their language are one," said an old Bushman woman informant on an episode of the SABC *The Healing Power of Nature* two years ago. Some have called this incantatory animism (Northcote and Lang 2003) but it can be seen as an intense empathetic feeling for the environment which because of its intensity means that depletion of resources is only possible if done casually without the feeling for an-other.

This is the trance-formative/transformative universe and cosmology of the shaman. My reading here is an attempt at interpreting the postcolonial shamanistic works of contemporary artists. This form of contemporary shamanism and trance is another part of the phaneron and the signification of meanings (Tomaselli 1996). The squalor, poverty, disease and social breakdown that the Bushmen have suffered over the years are well-chronicled and they would probably require a shamanist trance dance to relieve the stress and disease as of old. This chapter argues that contemporary Bushman art is therapeutic in the modern context and uses new technology (paintings on newer surfaces other than rock) to articulate societal anxieties, hope and aspirations.

Traditional rock art from the area contains forms of religious ritual such as the hunting dance or the rain dance in which action proceeds through imitation. The dancers appear as animals, and the narrative enacts the stages of a hunt, or a supplication for rain. The function of such ceremonies is to draw out sickness, to face the anxieties of lean times, and also to encourage the sharing of social harmony (Chapman 1996). Aspects of supplication are the basis of hymns and prayers and interestingly for sex and procreation as Vetkat's painting (Appendix 17) shows. This is a rare painting that shows a row of human figures is crawling on their

knees. Elsewhere, others are in somewhat reverend postures, and there is also in another spot a couple making love with the man behind the woman and both nearly kneeling over, while other figures are also in different degrees of rejoicing and prayerful postures. The painting teems with dark vigorous life, although the dark brownish density does not directly evoke anything ‘satanic’ or depressive; rather it looks like the therapeutic wilderness extolled by psychologists and environmental conservationists (Jung 1973; 1977; Jacobs 2003). There are myriad images on this single painting, flying birds, animals, human figures, a big colourful tree which incidentally is shaded in less dense colour, the mythical star, and a modest hut made of thatch. Appendix 17 extolls the divinity of nature; hence the love-making figures appears as if they are on their knees in prayer to a higher divinity. Meredith Sabini, compiler of Carl Jung’s works in *The Earth has a Soul* (2002), has observed in her preface to this seminal book that Jung’s main contribution is restoring to Nature its original wholeness by remind modern people that Nature is not matter only, but she is also spirit. The Earth and Nature have a spirit and beauty of their own; this spirit, according to Jung, is the inside of things and matter is their visible outside (Jung 2002; Sabini 2002).

To represent the visible outside of matter, and link it to the soul of nature, Vetkat in his painting in Appendix 17 exploits the traditionally recognised story-telling technique of telling a-story-within-a-story (telling a story in a stream-of-consciousness style), by converting it visually to the images-within-images technique. This way, Vetkat manages to present myriad images which are however synchronic in their a-logical sense, rendering an archetypical quality to his art, especially his densest painting Appendix 17. This picture qualifies as one of the paintings that Belinda refers to as the “sacred art” some of which they sold the original copies due to starvation. Vetkat transforms reality and natural objects and merges them or invents them anew giving them novel but recognisable qualities.

Sentience and the Self-conscious Artist

Violence is implied in the painting catalogued here as Appendix 20, where there are dismembered figures. This painting is incorporated into *Kalahari RainSong* (2004) as the very first presentation, just before the inside book title, author and copyright details pages. Like all of Vetkat’s paintings included in *Kalahari RainSong*, this picture is not “activated” and has no background caption to assist its reading by a viewer (Mlauzi 2002a; 2002b). Most of Vetkat’s paintings are presented as “strange, confined space(s)” to be firstly, named, then explored and navigated without the privilege of a creator’s guidance and reflexivity (Mlauzi

2002b: 9). In Appendix 20 human-creatures with different kinds of heads feature in the first row. The heads are shaped differently as if they belong to dogs, a goat, and others which are small-blobs symbolising human heads. Some of these human-creatures have tails and others do not. However, the subsequent two rows of pictures in Appendix 20 have headless human bodies, with or without necks. But they do not signify death in its rigid state because these bodies are all in dance motion, even when some seem as if they are kneeling. There is one creature with hands grotesquely protruding from the hip, defying the normal biological symmetry of the human body.

I find “sentience” applicable here in the idea of consciousness and life transcending the visual reality of decapitated and dismembered human bodies, as if to state animation and consciousness is ephemeral. The representation of this mystical aura and the attempt to “tangibilise” this phenomenon optically is what Vetkat does with this painting, as with many of his works. Headless dancing bodies symbolise consciousness outside the head itself, a rejection of Cartesian thought perhaps, and an acceptance that human beings can ‘go outside of themselves’, and “space out”, so to speak (Taussig 1993: 38). This makes me think of those mystical flashes of “recognition”, the anxiety “for reappraisal of past in present, this understanding that “to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it ‘the way it really was’... It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger” (Taussig 1993: 38). To understand this *flash* is also to gain insight into the creative impulse of Vetkat as he destabilises familiar motifs of time, space, body and history. He is in essence grasping the imaginative actual as the obverse of the eternal (Taussig 1993: 38).

In his quest for sentience we discover Vetkat’s intellectual, spiritual and moral consciousness. These paintings have been called the “Sacred Paintings” by his wife, and Vetkat was reluctant to sell them was it not for physical hunger. He is presented in interviews to me by Belinda as a priest, and his art best fits with what Tomaselli (2005: 113) describes as “priest-craft” in its psycho-spiritualism. In extolling the spiritual virtues of her husband Belinda says:

Vetkat lives his life very close to spirit. He is one of those who know God from within. *Ek leef omdat God leef*. (I live because God lives), he often says...His art is the gift the spirits gave him. He never had to be taught how to do what he does. It pours directly from his soul (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 97).

Vetkat was very self-conscious as an artist and he habitually signed off every one of his paintings to authenticate and self imprint his identity.

Space and Specificity

Vetkat's works are not "site-specific" in the conventional sense of him recreating the physical reality and its concreteness and thus implying through drawing "something grounded, bound to the laws of physics" (Kwon 2005: 32). His drawings are materially ephemeral. They show consistent mobility through the dance motif, hence human figures and all other objects that he draws seem to be "hanging" in space. Miwon Kwon (2005: 32) says site-specific art can take the "site" of "an actual location, a tangible reality, its identity composed of a unique combination of constitutive physical elements: length, depth, height, texture, and shape of walls and rooms; scale and proportion of plazas, buildings, or parks; existing conditions of lighting, ventilation, traffic patterns, distinctive topographical features".

In one respect, Vetkat's art renders itself self-referential, and thus placeless and transportable, "nomadic so to speak. In another sense, he is making a clever play on the stereotype of the desert being a place where there is "nothing". When I was young, the idea of the desert invoked in me an image of a vast expanse of dead sand where nothing grows. The notion of desert invoked a sense a vast "absence" of practically everything. To revise this idea with the practical reality of desert brings ambiguous knowledge that vegetation grows in the deserts, there can also be sand rivers, in the same sense that there is a rain season with violent storm (the so-called male rain) and the light showers (female rain); and last but not least, there are animals in the desert and people live there. This is not absence, but the reality disrupts popular simplistic and metaphorical notions ubiquitous in most societies that most of us use to conceptualise desert: "The place where nothing grows".

If the desert is "the place of nothing", as absent signifier, it becomes a dangerous political statement because it justifies the displacement of people who historically lived in these places. There has been such a history in South Africa, and in Botswana the Bushmen have won in 2007 a court case which allowed them to continue living in their ancestral lands from which the government wanted them to leave. The organisations and lobbyists for Bushmen rights point out that big international capital in the form of De Beers wants to mine diamonds in their traditional homelands, hence the Botswana government has to evacuate them. Anthropologist Steven Cory (2003: 1-4), contests Botswana Bushmen's claims to diamonds since nobody in the country owns subsurface mineral rights anyway. His argument is rather

mistaken because the Bushmen are claiming the entire land not the mineral wealth in it alone. Former Botswana President Festus Mogae vehemently rejected the idea that there are Bushmen still living the traditional lifestyle of subsistence hunter-gather because everybody is drawn into the market economy (see Baxter 2006: 42). Vetkat's "desert" paintings are therefore discursive and disrupt the myth of "nothingness". The desert landscape is only referential, as he 'constructs' open spaces on the pages by either leaving uncoloured spaces or colouring in neat fine often reddish texture to signify the desert landscape, more so when there are turfs of grass placed somewhere on the picture as if to reinforce place specificity.

The Representation of Violence in the Sacred Paintings

Vetkat subtly draws our attention to the possibilities of violence through presentation of arms of war, especially guns, axes, clubs and bows and arrows, in his paintings. In Appendix 21, the first row has several 'dancing' trees that however have an uncanny similarity to human bodies, roots like legs, branches like arms, and ironically, where heads ought to be, there are big social weaver bird nests. Bird nests are the most apt symbol of collective industry, unity, and co-existence. Metaphorically, birds weave peace and co-existence. Montage-like¹⁴⁰, the next row in the painting shows some fowls and a carnivore, in flight in a hunt. Further down the painting is a gun, whip, a bow and an arrow, but these arms of violence lie untouched on the surface as if they are on exhibition, curios not in actual use. The implication is a lying down of arms to ensure peaceful co-existence. The arms of war are juxtaposed with symbols of peace such as a languid snake, a trellis branch and a flying dove.

Again in Appendix 22, the call for peace is reiterated through the strategic juxtaposition of one row of human figures in a celebratory dance, to another row where there is the laying down of arms of war, and two figures that seem as if they are about to shake hands in a show of reconciliation. The metaphors of freedom, celebration and tranquillity are reiterated through dancers that number significantly, and through a man walking amongst flowers, as well as a placid snake. The two humans in a fighting stance seem to be sizing up each up, and the arms of war are once again lying idle, although there are more this time around including

¹⁴⁰ Vetkat Kruiper tends to draw animistic figures in rows on the same sheet. They present a montage effect where each row looks like an independent and at times totally intact scene, which however, when looked at overall merges with the juxtaposed rows to create a composite effect.

an axe, a hunting club, a spear, a whip, a bow and an arrow, and a gun.¹⁴¹ That the theme of laying down arms to give peace a chance dominates does not make Vetkat a naive artist. In presenting the arms of violence he is acknowledging both historical violence and its contemporary manifestations both in his immediate community, in South Africa and throughout the world. Post-apartheid South Africa currently suffers from the scourge of violent crime. In my interviews with the police at Witdraai in 2006 they attested to petty drunken brawls and murders amongst the local community. However, Vetkat offers a saner and healthier alternative to violence, which is unity and equality. The lone figure at the bottom right hand corner of the painting is actually walking in a garden of flowers, and looks as if he is about to pick some petals. This immediate comely environment induces feelings of reverence for nature, awe and ease of being (Jacobs 2003; Jung 1973a). Carl Jung (1973a) believed that our Souls extended into the natural world around us, so that hurting the environment is actually doing violence to our own being. Ecological psychotherapists (Johnson undated)¹⁴² believe modern urbanised people suffer from an attachment disorder to the natural world as they are nearly always on concrete and asphalt.

¹⁴¹ The Bushmen have encountered and participated in acts of violence both as victims and accomplices in the history of Southern Africa. Their encounters with Bantu and European imperialism quite often involved battles of extermination, although some large groups of Bushmen were assimilated into the powerful groups. However, the Bushmen participated in the Boer War (1999-1902) as trackers and spies against the British, and are credited for the prolongation of the Boer's guerrilla war by two years (Horden 2006: 31). They were again used by the apartheid regime's South African Defence Forces (SADF) to track guerrillas especially in Namibia and Angola. Their skills were often extolled, and white soldiers also often acknowledged the humanity and bravery of these counterparts, although disparaging slippages in otherwise well intentioned testimonies would be found, especially with regards to remarks about how Bushmen were able to do the things they did because they were animal-like, primitive and instinctive people from the bush (Gordon 1991: 71-93). Current studies show that Bushmen tracking skills are not a genetic trait or a mystical culturally-derived attribute, but instead, according to Louis Liebenberg, tracking is the "oldest science" which is a taught and learnt skill and art (Liebenberg 1990; 1992; 1995; Tomaselli 2001b: 79). I should take the opportunity here to point out that in post apartheid South Africa the Bushmen who fought on the apartheid regime's side have been welcomed with discomfort. Most relocated from Namibia after the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) formed the first postcolonial government, and Bushmen were generally insecure and feared recrimination hence they opted to come to South Africa. They were settled at Schmidtsdrift. I saw a travelling group of these Bushman performing for school children at Westville Primary school where they sold artefacts such as bows and arrows and lit fire from rubbing sticks against each other. They were under a white manager who spoke on their behalf, and as usual, I was limited from communicating with them due to language problems. In 2006 I found these Schmidtsdrift Bushmen relocated from their tent suburb to Platfontein, where durable brick core two-roomed houses were allocated to them in an isolated township with its own community radio station. A common feature was the ubiquitous green military tent that featured in most of the new home invariably as an extension of the too small brick house, or it was used as curtaining for to cover the glass windows. It just takes time to get rid of symbols of violence, even though some of these people were now making crafts that we saw displayed at the community centre in Platfontein. On seeing this isolated residential community I felt the community was literally still being buffered from direct contact with the rest of the South African populations.

¹⁴² Johnson, R.F. (undated) "Earth prayers", *Gatherings: Journal of the international community of ecopsychology*. http://www.ecopsychology.org/journal/ezine/earth_prayer.html, (accessed 29 June 2009).

My reading of the celebration picture is that the Bushmen are dancing for the restoration of land to them by the liberation African National Congress (ANC) government, hence the encouragement to procreate and prosper. The arms of war are laid on the ground in sight as a last resort of protection in the event that they again are threatened with dispossession. The land is something to be defended because it too is an integral part of their identities and their memories, yes, the land, animals and vegetation as they speak about them in their daily stories. That is why in an SABC *Healing Power of Nature* programme an old Bushman lady remembers nostalgically her mother's 'tree-house'. Elsewhere at Erin, Rosa Meinjties cried when my research team visited her at her home and she saw pictures of her relatives and a familiar tree in the desert. And the late Vetkat declared he intuitively loved the Kalahari, and metaphorically wanted its sands to wrap him up for warmth and protection. I suppose his internment in the Kalahari sands is an eternal communion between him and his beloved environment. The land question is also predicated in issues of identity, the resultant violent wars and disruptions. I think of this reflexively given that land is now a perennial problem in my own country; in fact, the identity of my people and my old President Robert Mugabe, issues of human rights and democracy, have all since been conflated to the politics of land (see Mhiripiri 2008: 154; Vambe 2008).

In the painting Appendix 18,¹⁴³ there is the parodying of the penis in images in the first row, where there are dancing mythic human-figures with tails. Some have arms like tree-branches, a neck in the form of a tree-trunk, two arm-like branches with bright flowers and a green nest on each branch, and a 'head' that is delicately stripped brown like a social weaver bird nest. In the second row, one of the dancing primal figures with tree-like features carries something, it could be a handbag, or a radio to provide music for the dance. If it is a radio, it is a simplified version of the much more elaborate radio in Appendix 25. But then it could be a lady's handbag since the figure carrying it has feminine breasts, although the other hand has an extension that looks like a kitchen fork. The 'great dance' motif and trope is abundant but never exhausting or tedious. There is a dark figure with a martial penis which 'triggers' a rifle through induction to fire off a spurt of bullets. The gun, most probably an AK47, is hanging

¹⁴³ Appendix 19 could be a snide attack on stereotypes and demeaning myths about Bushmen genitalia which I believe Vetkat was aware of since his wife also wrote a poem on the issue she called "Bushman Curse". Her reflexive note in her book about why she wrote the poem is important. She wrote, "Note: this poem was written in angry reaction to the Western obsession with Bushman genitals and other anatomical features, and the scientific predilection for endless photographing and measuring of the Bushman 'priapic penis', whose erect or 'stiff' state was seen as evidence of the Bushmen's 'unnatural sexual rampancy and degeneracy'" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 63; also see Maseko 2002; Tobias 1998).

mid-air unattached to anything, defying gravity. The potent men dance over a multi-coloured undulating carpet adorned with creatures such as a lizard, a snake, a bird and starry flowers. Yet another montage of celebratory dance of transmogrified beings again over a coloured carpet or landscape. Since the figures in Vetkat's paintings are spirits they float in space, without feet, the pointed ends of their legs never touching ground. Anything can be anything else; everything can be everything else in this absurd dance of life/death. These are cerebral transformations or artistic trance-formations, and it would be easier to implicate the source of their imagination as the state altering influences of marijuana which the artist and his wife liberally partook as testified in Belinda herself (Bregin & Kruiper 2004; see Prins 1999).

Vetkat's paintings might seem hallucinatory and irrational when subjected to ordinary 'Western' criteria for logic and knowledge. Since they differ in this regard, they are 'mediumistic' and divinatory forms of communication that have an extra-human basis that transcends ordinary or conventionalised ways of knowing and perception.¹⁴⁴ We are dealing with apparitions, and apparitions are the basis of simulacra and imaginaries that constitute "reality" (Baudrillard 1983). This is the realm of the noumenal discussed by Tomaselli (1996), which he derived from Immanuel Kant, and which he argues is possible within Peirce's notion of phaneroscopy. Phaneroscopy permits signification – unlike science – to include interpretants of the noumenal – scientifically unknowable – world in which apparitions, ghosts and the fantastic, are considered real by those who 'see' and experience them. Apparitions exist at the level of aesthetics but require modes of conduct at the level of secondness in Experience and the Rhetorical.

For the Bushmen, mediumistic divination can be characterised as a form of knowing and communicating, performed through transformation in the diviner's consciousness, i.e. through the diviner's mediumistic involvement with tutelary ancestral shades, spirits or divine agencies. Three types of divination involvement can be characterised, namely, "those performed by a diviner in possession trance, in shamanistic trance or in trance." In the

¹⁴⁴ Belinda Kruiper has tried to cultivate the image of her husband's divinity and that he was predestined to be a great spiritual leader for the Bushman and the human race. Belinda reiterated to me in interviews Vetkat's spiritual figure, which is priest-like. She has also written about her husband's religious personality as follows: "(He's) also got the silence in him, that rare ability to be quiet that comes from inner strength and really knowing life and being able to simply be yourself – fearing nothing – because whatever it is that life brings, you've already been there and you know you can survive it...Vetkat was born a Wiseman and his life as an outcast has made him very deep" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 97).

possession trance, which is probably the most common, the “diviner, while experiencing hallucination or visions, is considered to be acting out, in speech or behaviour, the message sent by the possessing spirit(s) to an audience” (Devisch 1985: 52-53). Then, in the second type, the shamanistic or visionary type of divination:

the diviner, inducing some alteration in his sensory capacities, is considered to initiate some visionary contact with the spirit(s). In the latter state the spirit does not speak directly as in the former type through the possessed medium, but the diviner either tells about his visionary journey, or he imitates the actions of the spirit without himself being possessed (Devisch 1985: 52-53).

And the last type, that of the trance-like divination, purported includes forms of heightened awareness, although it does not always carry attributes of the sacred. Nonetheless all these types of divination reflect some “extra-human” message (Devisch 1985: 52-53).

Vetkat’s art is probably best exemplified by the second and third type of divination. That he took mood altering substances is nothing much of a secret to me. I recall sharing some marijuana with him both in the Kalahari and in Durban, and Belinda kept a good supply of hemp biscuits at their homestead. In the heightened state of mind, man is a tree; man is a tree metaphorically and in visual representation, and nothing is unusual in this, since in the mythical world and Bushmen cosmology the spirit of a human being after his or her death infuses itself into a tree. The spirit stays contained in the tree, and for the living this can only translate to veneration for the ecology. Thinking or perceiving in these terms is not ontologically pre-scientific or pre-modern (hence primordial and backward), but is rather an authentic symbolic practice that is not contrary to a rational outlook (Devisch 1985: 56). When the semiotic and semantic approaches are conflated, symbols cease to be mere representations or instruments of social reality, nor as pre-scientific forms of knowledge, but as a reality in their own right. However, since the ancient traditional Bushman mythology is replete with trance-formational realities where stories are told of men and women with tails, and people can turn into trees; it is inappropriate to explain away Vetkat’s fantastic visions as the result of drug induced hallucinations. Instead, we are in the unfathomable world of intuition, where recurring motifs still have currency in art and literature today, and which many thinkers interpret as reflecting unconscious emotional memories hard-wired into the brain as nonverbal, sensory images. These repeating mental patterns, called archetypes, that

Carl Jung studied relentlessly, need to be thoroughly studied in Vetkat's art in order to link it to the common threads in his society's otherwise distinctive myths and legends (Jacobs 2004: 67). The myth and legends should not be of interest for their own sake, but to understand the contemporary existential cosmology of the Bushmen.

Glorification of the Kalahari Sands

I feel very happy to be in the Kalahari and my feelings and my everything is in the Kalahari. I just want to be in the Kalahari, in the red sand dunes, to lie peacefully in the dunes, where I make a fire, we don't need blankets. Under the fire where it has been burning, I mix the warm ash with the cold sand and cover myself up. I sleep peacefully while snakes and scorpions move around me. But I am not too wary of all the dangers, but I am wary. I am very happy to be in the Kalahari, in Blinkwater (Vetkat Kruiper tells Tim Reinhardt (2002b) in a video interview in Durban).

While life in the Kalahari is far from easy since water has to be fetched by donkey cart from a water pump fifteen kilometres away and shops are even further (sixty kilometres) away, Belinda, like Vetkat, still found the life relatively stress-free and satisfying. For her, it is an individual choice. She is a university 'drop out' who worked with the South African San Institute (SASI) and that is how she met the ≠Khomani Bushmen, and eventually her future husband. Belinda extolled the Kalahari environs and conjured in my mind the beauty of sand that I never had imagined before.

And so Belinda extols the iron oxide found in desert sand that she believes has intrinsic sanitary qualities. The sand has a convenient hygienic logic of its own that she impressed to me in various discussions, usually as a matter-of-fact when we discussed commonplaces such as the weather during our occasional encounters either in the Northern Cape or in Durban. She reiterates her opinion in writing:

The Kalahari has its own timing for things. You learn to live by the desert rhythms, to adjust to the cycles of want and plenty; to discard your pampered Western values and use the resources around you to survive with. You find yourself needing less, your body adjusting to the scarceness, building up immunity to heat and thirst, becoming less fixated on hunger. Sand, not water, is your daily cleanser. It's a natural scourer, a way to keep clean in the absence of water. What water there is, is for livestock, not washing. When the rains come,

you get your bath. Rain in the desert is the time to run outdoors not inside, to strip your clothes off and be purified by the sky's gift (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 52).

The CCMS research team has stayed in the Kalahari as guests and knows what it is all about. There can be the relative comforts of the Molopo Lodge, cosy bed and shower, and standard hotel fare, besides the bar facility and television. In the ≠Khomani community, such things are heaven; one struggles to get the minimum basics such as water which we carry from Durban and use sparingly.

When we visited Vetkat and Belinda we arrived in Keyan Tomaselli's Sani (four-wheel drive van). There was Linje a Malawian student, Vanessa a South African student and Sian Dunn a professional photographer who wanted to take some journalistic photographs. We were received by Belinda, Vetkat and Yuri, and were told that their friend Oom Hansie was down in the veld looking after the sheep. We off loaded stuff from the car and soon pitched up our tents next to the Shepherd tree on the Blinkwater dune. Keyan, Linje and I immediately set about erecting our tent – the biggest tent residence that would accommodate the three of us over our stay in the Kalahari. The women had smaller personal tents. This was going to be the base from which we would visit other communities. Belinda and Vetkat's sand dune was to be home to us just as some of us host them when they come to Durban, only now we imported our shelters which could be assembled and dismantled in approximately thirty minutes. That alone is a snappy indicator of our research methodology, and its validity or lack of it in terms of conducting ethnographic research.

We did not dare sleep in the sand 'Bushman-style' as Vetkat implies in Tim Reinhardt's video (2002b). Obviously there is need to minimise risk in order to accomplish the task at hand – research -- hence it would be foolish to disrupt work because one got bitten by a snake. Perhaps if I stayed longer without the demands of research, I could then experiment with his method and see whether it suited me and I liked it, sleeping with snakes and scorpions crawling around, and just hoping nothing drastic happened. Much as we wanted to appear as casual ordinary visitors, we were not. We could simulate the lifestyle just to a convenient level. The security of the tent was preferable for the town team, and even then we were always very careful to look in all corners before we sleep just to check we had no

unwelcome intruders. Keyan constantly reminded us to keep the tent flap 'door' shut. The tents that were in practice only bedrooms, and the foldable camping table and chairs in the open and other kitchen utensils added to the Blinkwater chiaroscuro effect of the Kruipers' own bedroom and kitchen made of thatch, Vetkat's rectangular art gallery - which Belinda affectionately called "Vetkat's Office" - made of wooden walls and a slanted metal-sheet roof, Belinda's old van and the donkey drawn cart used for fetching water, both of which were painted with iconic Bushman figures mural-style. For the heavier ablutionary needs one simply picked up a spade and a roll of toilet paper and walked down the other side of the dune where one dug up the sand, relieved oneself in the open desert expanse, and covered up. In short, in order to enjoy our stay by making it bearable we simply acculturated; we were assimilated by the people and environment, but brought with us our urban mannerism to blend conveniently with the rustic desert conditions.

The image of the wilderness is often unnerving to most readers of the Kalahari. However, as Johannes Fabian (2006) notes, there is something familiar to visitors of any remote or exotic place when they recognise its similarity with what they already have where they are coming from. It can be the strangers that one encounters that remind one of somebody they know closely back home, and this triggers those feelings of humanity, love or dislike, association or revulsion, in us (Jacobs 2003). The most comfortable and stressed feelings of identification make people connect with the new people they encounter as well as appreciate the 'alien' environment. Fabian (2006:142) observes that travelogues that pretend to 'forget' that African peoples and scenery are just like others elsewhere, make 'forgetting' a cognitive, moral, and political issue.

Ironically, the African countryside has historically reminded visiting Western explorers of landscapes, often of specific features, shape and places they know from their own places of origin. Fabian (2006: 142) writes, "with surprising frequency, knowledge (cognition) of physical Africa would come to them through memories (re-cognition); by making the strange look familiar they appropriated 'geography' and tropical nature." Unfortunately, the same explorers might identify with the terrain and landscape but fail to "recognise" familiar hard-working peasants from their home-countries simulated in the local people. Then, as far as human Africa was concerned, the encounter would be predicated on "forgetting as denial of re-cognition" (Fabian, 2006: 143).

Desert landscapes and sands

Most of Vetkat's paintings do not indicate physical grounds, and the few that do so, do it in oblique or metaphorical terms. The dominant technique of referring to land, ground or soil is to keep the paper surface empty and unmarked. Flora and fauna are imposed on this empty space. This method denies a reader to fix and locate flora and fauna in any recognisable geographic place, rendering the paintings and their subject-matter universal and applicable to all peoples across the world. The notion of space and specificity with regards to identifiable locations is obviated.

“Ja! Of Nee!” has in the top right corner of the painting some secreting figures enshrined in a greyish ambience. The one dimensionality of the ambience makes it look as if ground, surrounding and aerial atmosphere are indistinguishable due to the ubiquitous colouring with the same colour for these normally visually separable mediums. Otherwise, for the rest of the painting the terrain gives the illusion of emptiness (Appendix 28).

In Appendix 18, for every one of the two rows of human-like figures, there is an alternating row with a vividly coloured stretch of quilt-like patches that represent the desert terrain, or land in general. Each of the quilt-like strips is drawn and coloured in different colours as if they imitate a ‘world’ or ‘continental’ map representing different types of land masses. The first of these land masses is undulating, and this possibly best represents desert sand dunes. When I visited the Kalahari, I noticed that there are salt-pans that look greyish, and there are yellowish sandy soils amongst other different types and colours of soil. It must, however, not be a simplistic fact that all desert landscape is continuously undulating and sandy because there are flat plains and veldts such as those along salt-pans, and cattle and sheep pastures. Interestingly, the undulating landscape is ‘embroidered’ with reptiles (a lizard and a snake), a bird, an animal, a nest and flowers. Comparable to Appendix 18, is the painting “Africa”, which also has a multicoloured quilt-like stretch over which a man walks, and trees and grass grow (Appendix 27). The terrain is presented in a one-dimensional perspective, although the positioning of the man, tree and grass provide this part of the painting with cryptic ‘depth’ and multi-dimensionality.

The motif of Snakes, the phallic and para-normal readings

The myth of the snake cuts across Southern African mythologies, with people of Bantu origin conferring rainmaking powers to the snake, especially the python which is often protected as

a sacred snake.¹⁴⁵ Much as the snake is revered in some instances, it is also a source of terror and fear, associated with witchcraft and death. This causes many people to have a general phobia against snakes. It is common for ‘stray’ snakes to be killed on the spot in spite of efforts by conservationists to school citizens on the importance of snakes in a balanced ecosystem. In the urban communities I have lived, the unemployed youths are derisively known as *machayanyoka* – snake beaters – a name emanating from the idea that male ‘loafers’ are only handy in killing stray snakes for frightened housewives when their gainfully employed spouses are away from home.

The snake motif recurs in Vetkat’s art, and this is yet another image that has both archetypal and mythological roots in Bushman and other local traditions. ‘Transmogrified’ snake figures often appear in ancient rock paintings. Some of these large snake images have antelope heads and in the Kamberg area of South Africa these mythical figures are commonly known in mythical Zulu folklore as *inkanyamba* (Francis 2007: 107-108). Oral stories told in southern Africa are generally common about the mythical snake figure. The Nama-speaking of Namibia are reported to tell “true stories” about giant snakes with supernatural powers that control the water fountains (Schmidt 1997: 269). According to mythology this snake creature appears to inhabit rivers and lakes throughout Southern Africa.

When angered, it is destructive and unleashes devastating storms and floods. It is alleged to cause seismic tremors “damaging foundations of houses in retribution for the recent damming of rivers” (Draper 2003: 60). The stylistic execution of Vetkat’s snake images does not exactly copy the mythical snake figures with kudu-heads or horns. In his work, the snake might run through the waist of a human figure to create what might be a composite ‘mythical’ figure (Appendix 23). However, most of the snakes are iconographically representative of real snakes, and probably my oedipal and sexual readings of the figures draw the most relevant meanings. While some early travel writers made exaggerated descriptions of the prevalence of snakes in the desert (see Jones 2001: 204), in my two visits that amount to more than just a week, I never saw snakes even when I walked the veldt. However, snakes and other serpentine figures are recurring images in Vetkat’s paintings and he frequently referred to them in interviews. “I sleep peacefully while snakes and scorpions move around me”, he told to media student Tim Reinhardt (2002b) during a visit to Durban. Snakes in his

¹⁴⁵ In Zimbabwe most traditional chiefs protect the python and it is traditionally punishable to be seen with a python skin, which ironically is revered by the best traditional healers.

paintings either reinforce male potency or symbolise the benevolent spirit world. Nowhere does he represent them as dangerous and life-threatening (see Appendix 24).

When I was appreciating Vetkat's paintings at my Gweru home, I pondered his nearly obsessive preoccupation with the snake. I made oedipal/phallic readings; I read books and cross referenced ideas (Francis 2007; Schmidt 1997). Meanwhile, I was watering my garden, changing the position of the sprinkler at the end of a hosepipe whenever I took a break from my brainstorming. When I thought I was making some epiphanic readings into his nearly "obscure" art, as my mentor Tomaselli is wont to describe it, I went out to change the sprinkler once again. I over stayed on my thesis work and a small puddle was forming around my vegetables. But there was a visitor cooling himself in the showers; it was a small brown snake about thirty centimetres long. We saw each other. I felt no tension. I left him to his bath. The last cobra I had seen in my yard I smashed with big rocks.

The noumenal phaneron is important in explaining dreams, visions and sightings associated with snakes as I too have had my personal encounters with snakes. The snakes conveyed messages and new meanings to my own life. When driving in Zimbabwe coming from a visit from a farm, and in a stretch of barely three kilometres, I saw close to ten different snakes lying on the tarred road, or just sliding into the grass by the roadside. This was close to the Hwahwa Prison Complex near to where Erasmus Mupfiga (a friend and the Deputy Registrar of the Zimbabwean university where I work) owns a farm. Mupfiga recently had told me about his kleptomaniac nephew – Nyasha¹⁴⁶ - who dropped out of polytechnic and was wasting his chances in drink and women of prostitutes. The following morning, as we drove to work, Mupfiga brought attention to the snakes we saw during our drive of the previous night. We both agreed they were "unnaturally" too many for one sighting outside a snake park. "It was a message from Nyasha", Mupfiga said rather enigmatically.

Nyasha's brother phoned first thing today; I expected to hear Nyasha stole from yet another relative. But no, he was arrested for a theft and sentenced to three years in prison. A previous suspended sentence which was still pending also comes into force. He's serving time at Hwahwa.

¹⁴⁶ While I have used the correct name for Mupfiga, I use Nyasha as a pseudonym.

We both understood what the snakes signified because culturally we are trained to make the ‘illogical’ connections. We are both trained academics but remain culturally rooted and unabashedly and unapologetically “superstitious”. This is a ‘reality’ unlike the conventional Western modes of thought but it still is real and can be described, but need not be verifiable. While in this particular instance the sightings of snakes coinciding with Nyasha’s imprisonment signify punishment and misfortune, this does not mean that all symbolic appearances of snakes carry the same universal meaning to the Shona people. They might be a good omen, bringer of good fortune and rain, that is why rainmakers and traditional chiefs generally positively valorise snakes. Snake meanings are con-textual. Reading into the meanings of real or dream snakes is largely metaphorical. This is “phaneronic” reality which is fantastical, or may present itself as fictions, dreams, hallucinations, apparitions, spirit possessions; it is those discourses that are “threaded with the spiritual and paranormal, dimensions of belief and ‘reality’ excluded by the concrete emphases of First World social science (Tomaselli 1996: 56; Young 1995). It is important to note that Vetkat’s snake images are always placid and genial, as if to accentuate the Bushmen myth that snakes symbolise good spirits, and they also bring rain.

The tree and historic memory

The tree image dominates in Vetkat’s art, and always has human attributes or is interlinked to human activity. In Kalahari mythology, literally dead trees are not dead, especially if other life species sprout or leave off, on or around them. Ancestors who embody the wisdom and knowledge of the people are supposedly symbolised by trees, “stored” in them (Lange *et al* 2007: 94; Schapera 1930).

In “painting catalogued here as Appendix 25 which is also included in *Kalahari RainSong*, a giant black tree that looks like the mythic trees struck and blackened by lightning, has in its trunk two separate small sections of a rainbow of vivid colours. Next to the tree is a man-animal with a tail gesturing as if calmly touching the tree. Following Bushmen mythology of trees storing ancestral spirits, perhaps the man-animal is in the process of returning ‘home’ into the tree where he infuses himself. The human figure defies gravity like most figures by Vetkat, and is above the level of the tree’s base stem. There is no ground in particular, as usual to these paintings, once again destabilising the conventional notions of space and time.

Below the tree's base and in front are a radio-cassette player and a colourful striped bag. The juxtaposition of the blackened tree, a bag, and a radio-cassette player seems to be an effort to represent mythical ancestral spirit transposed to postmodernity. Spirits, myth and ancestral world are contemporaneous with us today and we belong to them; there is no contradiction. The issue is not how people have moved away from the past but how they exist and experience their everydayness in a changing context of space and timelessness. The bag: I remember Belinda and Vetkat carried sling bags when I met them in Durban. Belinda writes about the symbolic significance of the *bladsak* (carrying bag) that the ancestors always carried with them storing the basic necessities of life; a bag which ultimately symbolises the qualitative content of humanity (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 48). The similarity between the coloured strips of the bag and strips on sections of the tree imply that both bag and tree are spiritual "containers".

In this juxtaposition of the unlikely, the man-animal who represents ancestral spirits dances to music played on a radio cassette player, there is no longer the snobbery of undervaluing the past as if it is representative of "backward" or "primitive" forms of life. The radio has an antenna on one side and a root or branch protruding off its other upper side; once again nature and modern technology merge and transform/trance-form to show the contemporaneity of the intuitive and the modern scientific inventions. The Bushmen are familiar with cars, toothpaste, soda bottles, and other products because they use these items and often because they have acted in TV commercials promoting these products (see Buntman 1996a/b). Fourth World peoples, in an expression of postmodernity, now simulate images of new technology such as cars and radios in their tourist and popular art (Grabum 1976; Jules-Rosette 1990; Errington 1998).

Dialogical ethnology (at least as constitutes our research with the Third and Fourth Worlds), needs to examine the relations between the real and the noumenal dimensions. The ancestors are spatially and temporally present, and the positions they occupy in the cosmology of our research subjects is significant and not easily dismissed. While literate faiths and beliefs such as Christianity and Islam refer to the *Bible* and the *Koran* when calling on the "truth/s" offered/interpreted by their deities, oral communities such as the ≠Khomani without such equivalent imposing printed texts simply use an indexical analogous referencing system in which the signifier is collapsed into signified (Tomaselli 2007: 49-50). The tree is an abode

of ancestral spirits, and scorpions signify rain. When this is told to an ‘outsider’ they ought to accept the statements as fact and reality. This is not a purely logocentric conception of reality, but all the same the reality is ‘real’ since people believe in it and their lives are intricately woven with those beliefs and faiths.

In real existential experience, an actual tree in the Kalahari is significant for the qualification of history, identity and a sense of attachment to the place. Visiting a familiar old tree is not only sentimental but is a statement of homecoming for Bushmen who were historically displaced by colonialism and apartheid. In a documentary on SABC’s programme *The Healing Power of Nature*, Cris Besaff interviewed two old ≠Khomani ladies !Una and Sanna. The climax of the documentary was when one of the old ladies’ visited the Kalahari after many years in Upington, and amongst her first places of call is a tree. She fondly remembers her “mother’s house-tree” - the tree with steps and sap. She experiences conflictual feelings, being both overjoyed and sad with memory, notwithstanding the opportunity to see the tree again and re-imagine the past with nostalgia.

The location of Vetkat and Belinda’s homestead at Blinkwater was partly determined by the big shepherd tree which was the late Regopstaan Kruiper’s (Vetkat’s father and ≠Khomani patriarch) favourite resting place. The tree is referred to as Oupa’s tree (Grandpa’s tree) or the “shepherd tree” (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: Appendix 26). A much more poignant episode involving memory and a tree was experienced by my research group in 2002 at Erin. Keyan Tomaselli showed Rosa Meijties photographs of her grandparents that had been taken and published by Donald Bain in 1936 (Gordon 2002). Rosa had never known about the photographs until Nigel Crawhall of SASI discovered them in Bain’s book, copied them and gave them to her. Rosa identified her relatives in the photographs, and proceeded to go down memory lane, narrating what had happened to each one of them. She then made a lament during which she broke down weeping:

(these photos) mean a lot to me in my heart, because when I look at them, I think of my grandmothers and ancestors. I love the photos of my three grandmothers, my great grandmothers because when I look at them, I get courage. I really get courage. When I look at them, then I think I must go further. They show me....that my blood is close to uncle Dawid Kruiper’s blood because our blood is one. I want to tell Professor (Tomaselli) that when we lived in the (Kalahari Gemsbok) Park, we really lived. *This fig tree in the photograph... it*

means a lot to me Professor. I love my people. I love my grandmothers (Rosa Meinjties, interview, April 2002).

We then realised the people had limited access to the Park even after the land restitution. Hunting was not allowed and crafts-makers often complained that they could not get sufficient hide and bones to work on to supply demands of the tourist industry. Trees and the Kalahari terrain feature intimately in the people's reminiscences hence in the art and crafts, and they are a poignant symbol of the existential history and social politics of the place. Vetkat's painting in Appendix 25 best exemplify the spiritual and emotional relationship between human beings and trees, with the man-animal figure looking like it is about to 'enter' his tree abode. That Vetkat and Belinda decided to set up their home close to Vetkat's father's favourite shepherd tree is not mere coincidence (see Appendix 26).

Procreation, fecundity and the celebration of life

Vetkat's 2002 painting with the word "Africa" at its top is a romantic painting really teeming with life. It is a glorification of tranquillity, unity, procreation and proliferation. Two proud birds with long tails that nearly inter-lock, face each other and it is in the space between them that the word "Africa" is printed (Appendix 27). Once again human figures are animal-like in a non-frightening form, and their features are an amalgamation of fauna and flora.

The Jungian (1973a) importance of life forms, including man, and how these are tranquil and happiest in natural environments, is reinforced in the painting "Africa". Regeneration is key to the painting that apart from different species and types of vegetation sprouting and spreading freely across the terrain, there is a remarkable big tree with green foliage. This tree at the centre but to the extreme right side of the painting is unlike most blackened tree-figures we often encounter in Vetkat's art. This tree has a brown trunk and green leaves, bearing closer verisimilitude to actual natural trees, not the spirit-blackened mythical trees. The prominence of green and other vivid colours some trees, shrubs and flowers symbolises thriving life and regeneration. In one row there is a colourful map-like ground on which trees and shrubs stand. The map represents different types of soil and the water bodies. In the garden-like montage at the bottom of the painting, there is a cluster of fauna and flora. Interestingly, close to a duck, a reptile and some flowers, there is a silhouette of a human figure from whose groin section semen spurts out. He too is a symbol of regeneration (Appendix 27).

A comparable painting is “Ja! Of Nee!”¹⁴⁷, where a dance for rain, for love, and fecundity is the subject matter (Appendix 28). The title plays around the idea of courtship, and co-habitation and conjugal relations. A star emits its rays and so does a bow combining the myths of Cupid and Lycid into a new textual creation. Belinda has told us (and has also written) about her telepathic dream of the “morning star” with Vetkat in different places but at nearly the same time, and how it led to making love and marriage (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 71-72). Vanessa McLennan-Dodd (2003) writes of Silikat having called her “morning star” and she read it to mean she was supposed to buy the necklace with an emblematic star, but it can also mean his own infatuation for her as a beautiful young woman.¹⁴⁸

“Ja! Of Nee!” can also be interpreted as a rendition of the rain dance. There is some cadence in Belinda’s story as told in *Kalahari Rainsong* that is synchronic with this particular painting as well as others. Belinda writes about the spontaneous night sacred rain dances – the *!kei*, when they are conducted away from the “prying” cameras of tourists and researchers, when ‘*dronklappe*’ - drunkards - are transformed into people of the spirit. The “Lion Song” sung around the fire is described by Belinda as a powerful *!kei* song. In southern Africa people of Bushman descent are usually associated with rainmaking powers even when they live in predominantly Bantu communities (Prins 1990; 1997; 1999; 2000). Ostensibly, the occasion of song and dance “stirs the male energy, setting up an opposition strength that challenges and provokes, arousing the sexual, conquering hunter energy” (Bregin & Kruiper 2004, 42). Women lead the singing and man dance.

She writes:

The pipe would come out and be passed around, and the men would start to move with a different kind of energy, very animal. A woman would get up and join a man, teasing him with her body, deliberately provocative – no longer wife, aunt, mother, but simply sexual being, her female essence a counterpart close to his, supporting him from behind so that if he should slip while in his trance, she’d be there to catch him. She’d egg him on with her flirting – seductive not in the human female way, but in a primal sense, very animal – a young

¹⁴⁷ Translated as “Yes! Or No!” and name is derived from the words written on painting by the painter.

¹⁴⁸ In my Shona culture we have countless songs and poems that refer to lovely ladies as stars, *nyeredzi*, and the feeling of light and happy giddiness is evoked at the mention of love under the stars. The star is not only a referential point but an embodiment of romantic love and happiness.

steenbokkie flirting with her mate. And the man would respond to her in kind, playing along to her voice and gestures, until a different woman rose to break into their dance....The provocativeness of the dance was exhilarating, it exhibited a very primal energy, much deeper than the merely sexual. These were the things the cameras and film crews could never capture. For the cameras, the dancers performed their steps, but the spirit, the essence, was not there (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 42).¹⁴⁹

Several of Vetkat's paintings portray sexual suggestive dances. "Ja! Of Nee" is an ecosystemic painting that symbolises fertility and harmony in nature. Easy vivid colouring is put to use for full effect.

When the rain dance happens, Belinda and many others in the Kalahari believe actual rain certainly would fall/follow soon after (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 42). This now is a matter of not only belief, but faith, as is the case with any issues pertaining to spiritualism and religion. How does one deal the prescient, or claims and beliefs towards that when one studies communities and actually interacts with subjects and host communities who are steeped in such beliefs and practices? So the rain dance is causative to raining, although there is no scientific meteorological explanation here. Tomaselli *et al* (2008) and some in my team might find it beguiling totemistic essentialism and a-logical, but it is the reality of magical simulacra, where the simulation invokes the real. This is surrealism. After all, as Marshall Sahlins (2002: 3) iconoclastically observes "reality is a nice place to visit (philosophically), but no one ever lived there". The problem, as far as ethnographic method goes, is that there can be no argument against a perception. If there is a dance and then rain, we will perceive that occurrence together if we are both exposed to it, though we might disagree on its cause and meaning. All we can do, in effect, is engage in dialogue in the hope that (in good therapeutic fashion) we can resolve any conflict of interpretation in a nonconflictual manner (Tomaselli *et al* 2008: 361-362).

¹⁴⁹ Since Belinda describes these dances as spontaneous events in the ≠Khomani community I wonder to what extent they influence free sexual contact and fornication. Belinda and many other observers have raised the issue of sexual molestation of younger girls as well as rampant incest that is now the norm. She writes of "cousins marrying cousins" for generations now ostensibly to retain the genetic looks that are favoured by popular media and especially filmmakers. She writes: "Stakes are high for preserving the distinctive Bushman 'look'. That is the look that has survived currency. That is what the public wants, what filmmakers will pay for. The only way to perpetuate it, to preserve the dwindling gene pool, is through inbreeding" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 79).

Gender relations in oral narrative and the paintings

While Vetkat's art clearly shows men and women it does not show conflictual gender relations. This is keeping with the 'traditional' notions of equality in Bushman communities. While sex and gender differences are distinguishable from the paintings, such differences recede in importance as their 'human' significance take precedence over literal masculinity or femininity. The figures are 'sexed' in an interconnected way; no one sex dominates over the other. Vetkat develops the traditional emphasis on humanness rather than masculinity or femininity, and is close once again to the relational motifs of the rock paintings found in southern Africa that strive to communicate messages that transcend sex differences (Lenssen-Erz 1998). Most studies represent men and women by marking biological features and other cultural features such as bows and arrows, or digging sticks for gendered activities for men and women. Where these cultural tools appear in Vetkat's art they are more of supplements than gender marking implements.

Vetkat's paintings express in varying degrees and execution those steatopygic (protruding buttock supposed to store fat and 'food' for lean desert times) and male ithyphallism (a permanent semi-erection) features that have for long been mythologised about the Bushmen (Jones 2001: 213). A phallic projection is often pronounced and usually this is in dances of rain, fecundity and procreation, and only once do we get a postmodern aberrant ejaculation of a rifle from the penis (see Appendices 18 & 23). The Bushmen story-telling tradition used both highly formalised and colloquially profane speech, and reference to sex, excrement, birth, death, hunting and gathering, sharing food, the division of labour, the balance of sexual power, and so on, can be respectful or scatological (Chapman 1996: 28). The use of sexual imagery in several of Vetkat's paintings is not mere mischief, but a way of reinventing the Bushmen story-telling traditions which were comfortable with expressing sexual subjects. Vetkat's art is unashamedly ribald and carnivalesque.

The loving Almighty God

While Vetkat had a tendency of writing short statements on his paintings, or writing his name or names of people close to him, the painting I have called "God is good" is clustered with such lexical signs celebrating life and thankful of God's gift to humanity (Appendix 29).

God slap nie, ja, hy slap nie – God doesn't sleep, yes, he doesn't sleep

Geniet die lewe, so dot die lewe jou ook kan geniet – enjoy life so that life can also enjoy you

God leef, ja hyleef – God lives, yes He lives

God, ge my die krag dankie – God give me the strength/power thank you

God is goet, ja hy is goet – God is good, yes He is good.

God is alles in my lewe – God is everything in my life

Die lewe is daar, en dit is kasbaar – the life is there and it is expensive (costly)¹⁵⁰

“God is Good” has one large tree with spreading trellis-like branches and roots cover the entire page - symbolic of life. Other forms of life such as the human and human-animal-like figures, vegetation and birds are represented. A small homely abode of thatch with an open door is also present. “The life is there and it is expensive” is placed close to the fence and the bus. Economic exigencies are posed as a major obstacle to the full enjoyment of God’s gifts. The fence and a bus or *kombi*¹⁵¹ in silhouette symbolise the demands of modernity that are “costly”. However, these are not insurmountable problems. Four graceful birds are symbolically placed one over the other to represent a gate in the fence, meaning that even these artificial restrictions are not impassable in the quest to enjoy life so that life enjoys us. Boundaries thus are penetrable and in true happiness homes are receptive with open doors.

Once again, in the painting “God is Good” the tree is blackened to show that it is the abode of ancestral spirits (Appendix 29). Much as the universal spirit of God is evoked in the written words, the pictorial image of a very large tree re-impresses the omnipresence of God. This is the largest iconic tree in all of Vetkat’s paintings, as if to give a visual proportion of the universal significance of The Almighty. There is a silhouette of a man, in front of tailed man-animal leading along another human figure. The three figures are all facing the tree, looking as if they want to ‘enter’ its truck. Man is an integral part of the spiritual world, and the Bushmen cosmology has a way of conceptualising God.

Placed next to “God is Good” in *Kalahari RainSong* is the painting I catalogued here as Appendix 30. This painting is comparable to “God is Good” in its treatment of the omniscient and omnipresent. Appendix 30 is a painting of a big colourful eye or sun with stripes of rays stretching from the iris. It is looming over a reddish/greyish/brownish back ground that looks like the desert sand or the heavens, depending on what perspective one decides to take since,

¹⁵⁰ Translation from Afrikaans to English was done by Karen Peters.

¹⁵¹ A four-wheel drive van.

once again the artistic style destabilises space and gravity. Below the eye/sun are two human figures, flowers and green vegetation. The mythical image of the “all-seeing eye” is a universal cultural archetype found in most world religious cultures, including Christianity and Islam (Jung 1973b). While it is omnipresent, the ambience created by Vetkat’s all-seeing eye is genial and not oppressive. It is not the Orwellian Big Brother¹⁵² type of surveillance eye that congeals free thinking or movement. It seems to induce a happy mood on the inhabitants below who are in supple languid movement. The vegetation is green with life and the flowers are blooming and bright against sandy red surface typical of the Kalahari. During a visit to OstriSan we saw Isak Kruiper burning a big eye into a bone meant for a necklace and one tourist remarked that he must have been seeing too much *Big Brother* the popular reality television programme. Indeed, why shouldn’t he watch popular reality TV and be a man of our times but remain himself?

The geometric form of the concentric eye has associations with the Jungian “mandala” (Jung 1973b). The “mandala” is an archetypical geometrical form with receding concentric forms that ultimately end with a mid-point or centre. Carl Jung used geometric designs to formulate the conscious and subconscious. He observed that there are some basic geometric signs and figures which children and the mentally unstable often draw without much effort. Thus Jung made a conclusion about the “mandala” and the centre of life – the life source/soul, so to speak – that translates to a wholesome state of being. He postulates that the mandala is based on the “squaring of a circle”. Its basic motif is “a centre of personality”. This is “a kind of central point within the psyche, to which everything is related, by which everything is arranged, and which is itself a source of energy” (1973b: 73). The energy of the central point is the manifestation of what one intrinsically is, just as every organism assumes its characteristic form under any circumstances. This centre is the self and it is represented by an innermost point, surrounded by a periphery of paired opposites that make up the total personality. Consciousness comprises of this totality, followed by the personal unconscious, and finally an indefinitely large segment of the collective unconscious whose archetypes are common to all mankind (1973b : 73).

The mandala supposedly has an intuitive, irrational character, and its symbolism influences the unconscious. Like, icons, the “mandala” possesses a “magical” significance (1973 b: 77).

¹⁵² Allusion to George Orwell’s novel on authoritarianism called *Nineteen eighty-four*.

Again, Jung postulates that there is a “transconscious disposition” in every individual capable of producing similar symbols at all times and in all places. He calls this the collective unconscious because it is a disposition characterised by the existence of primordial and archetypal images. The identity of conscious individual contents with their ethnic parallels is expressed not merely in their form but in their meaning (Jung 1973a:100.)

Jung writes in his editorial preface to *Mandala Symbolism* (1973b; v) about his ‘personal’ discovery:

Only gradually did I discover what the mandala really is: ‘Formation, Transformation, Eternal Mind's eternal creation’ (Faust, II). And that is the self, the wholeness of the personality, which if all goes well is harmonious, but which cannot tolerate self-deceptions...I had to abandon the idea of the superordinate position of the ego...I saw that everything, all paths I had been following, all steps I had taken, were leading back to a single point -- namely, to the mid-point. It became increasingly plain to me that the mandala is the centre. It is the exponent of all paths. It is the path to the centre, to individuation...I knew that in finding the mandala as an expression of the self I had attained what was for me the ultimate.

Jung (1973b: 73) further explains that the goal of contemplating the processes depicted in the mandala is that its viewer or executor shall become inwardly aware of the deity. Through contemplation, he recognises himself as God again, and thus returns from the illusion of individual existence into the universal totality of the divine state. The archetypes and motifs in Vetkat’s art seem to aspire for eternal consummation of the self. In acknowledging the spiritual importance of the ecosystemic, Vetkat is both implicitly and explicitly affirming the presence of the self in the society. In existential reality all those who met him noted the calming effect of his presence that made encounters restful, profound and enjoyable (Oets 2003: Mlauzi 2002). In reminiscing with his widow Belinda, I also pointed out the mood of calm and peace that he exuded, and due to the failure by both Vetkat and me to communicate without a translator because neither of us spoke each other’s languages, I was content with his “reassuring silences” (email to Belinda 4 December 2007).

Riekie’s Delicate Intensity

Appendix 31 is the painting by the late temperamental Riekie who Belinda says once molested her, although the incident paradoxically brought them together after its resolution in a time of soberness. In the book, he is a ‘shaman’ of sorts who unfortunately does not use his

powers productively or redirect his spirit or ‘karma’ for good use, Belinda describes a photo of Riekie that she has which tallies with the description that she paints of him in the book. She says:

I have a photo of Riekke that I love because it captures his essence so perfectly. He is caught in the act of dancing, in a trance state. His body is bare except for his !xai – he is wearing no necklaces or other adornments – which is the proper spirit way, honouring the old values of non-attachment. His face is intent, nostrils flared, the tendons of his neck taut with effort, sweat running down his skin. His eyes have an inward focus – a look of bliss and peace. This is the Riekke of the spirit, the seer and dancer and visionary healer (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 45).

Indeed, Belinda ‘re-paints’ the image/picture of Riekie albeit using visual-oral techniques that also expose intimate ephemeral and in fact non-visible feelings.

In my opinion, Riekie’s painting, which is also included in *Kalahari Rainsong*, is deliberately selected (Appendix 31). He was described by Belinda as a very intense, unpredictable but trustworthy and loving person. He is full of emotion and does everything to the fullest with passion. His painting is reflective of those traits. Due to the painting’s depth of emotion and the mysticism or spiritualism he is associated, I easily identified associations between Riekie’s painting and Jungian philosophy (Jung 1973a). Riekie uses dense brown and black in sections of the painting to depict both terrain, and fauna. However, he also rather teasingly uses lighter shades as if to counterbalance the dense profiles. Some of the delicate lighter shades are nearly invisible, such as the green tree in a valley. There are also those game paintings reminiscent of rock paintings, although some of his human figures are calmly entombed in the entrails of the earth. There is also an athletic looking giant hunter carrying a bow and arrows following game, not running, but as if he is a shepherd after his herds. Unlike Vetkat’s paintings, Riekie’s has closer resemblance to the rock paintings with their invocation of hunting and rain dance in their angularities and touch.

Riekie Kruiper’s painting triggers something ancient and fundamental in the viewer’s mind, something akin to aspects of our being that Carl Jung described as the “archaic, natural and primordial” (Jung 2002). Human figures in Riekie’s painting seem ‘enclosed’ by the earth and the atmosphere. They are somewhat enshrined in the entails of nature, stimulating in the

viewer's mind the primordial leitmotif of "Mother Nature" protecting her children in her womb. Riekie's painting bears close similarity to Vetkat's painting Appendix 17, which is teeming with natural life, reflecting the divinity of life species and extolling procreation. Much as there are no direct signs and symbols of procreation in Riekie's painting, it still forcefully represents the basic unconscious in all people, what Jung has (without condescending) called "the primitive in myself" or the "archaic Man" (Jung 2002).

The dominant archetypical human figure in Riekie's painting represents a Neolithic hunter, carrying a bow and arrow. He is drawn reflecting the legendary Bushmen's bum (remarkably protruding buttocks). He is walking in a relaxed way, while on the hill above are two elands that are not panicky nor in flight from terror as if the man is their natural protective shepherd. The ordinariness and natural-ness of existence is accentuated in the image of an ant-eater in a cavity where ants crawl in a line, but the ant-eater does not appear to be in a hurry to devour what must be food. There is also a bird of prey holding a placid snake in its beak, as if to show that nature takes its own course.

In Riekie's work, some of the individual human figures that are figuratively enshrined in the physical terrain seem to be conducting some religious ceremonies, each holding up an object as if making an offering to a higher deity. Jung described an "archaic man" that lives in all of us below the persona of the "modern man". It is with this in mind that I contend Vetkat's art and Riekie's single known work recognise and acknowledge the universal presence of the "archaic man" in all people of our age. The "archaic Man" or the "primitive Man", according to Jung, knows how to converse with the soul, and he is closest to all the humanity modern man has lost in modern man's endless quest for 'development'. Jung writes,

...it is not only primitive man whose psychology is archaic. It is the psychology also of modern, civilized man, and not merely of "throw-backs" in modern society. On the contrary, every civilized human being, however high his conscious development, is still an archaic man at the deeper levels of his psyche. Just as the human body connects us with the mammals and displays numerous vestiges of earlier evolutionary stages going back even to the reptilian age, so the human psyche is a product of evolution which, when followed back to its origins, shows countless archaic traits (Jung 2002; 100).

For Jung (2002), the modernist artistic productions known as cubism, Dadaism and futurism are testimony of remnants of the primordial found in the unconscious and the historic composition of the human psyche. Explaining the primitive psyche and the archaic man's cerebral conception and perception of reality Jung writes;

To (the primitive man) the psyche appears as the source of life, the prime mover, a ghostlike presence which has objective reality. Therefore the primitive knows how to converse with his soul; it becomes vocal within him because it is not simply he himself and his consciousness. To primitive man the psyche is not, as it is with us, the epitome of all that is subjective and subject to the will; on the contrary, it is something objective, self-subsistent, and living its own life (Jung 2002; 92).

Giving examples of how this "ghostlike" reality which translates into objective/concrete reality manifests itself in the archaic man's psyche, Jung further explains;

We find this phenomenon beautifully developed in primitive man. The country he inhabits is at the same time the topography of his unconscious. In that stately tree dwells the thundergod; this spring is haunted by the Old Woman; in that wood the legendary king is buried; near that rock no one may light a fire because it is the abode of a demon; in yonder pile of stones dwell ancestral spirits, and when any woman passes it she must quickly utter an apotropaic formula lest she becomes pregnant, for one of the spirits could easily enter her body. *All kinds of objects and signs mark these places, and pious awe surrounds the marked spot. Thus does primitive man dwell in his land and at the same time in the land of his unconscious. Everywhere his unconscious jumps out at him, alive and real* (Jung 2002; 93) (emphasis added).

Given the contemporary Bushmen's immersion in modernity, it is nearly impossible to classify Riekie and Vetkat as exact typifications of Jung's primitive man. During their respective lifetimes Vetkat and Riekie lived in a world with all the paraphernalia and services associated with modern technological developments, and at some instances they certainly travelled in cars, used electricity and watched television. Their vivid expression of aspects of primordiality in their artworks might best be explained as an ability to retain the primitive man in each of their selves; both of them are certainly not "throw-backs" to what is ancient and basic. The works of both Riekie and Vetkat Kruiper, like those of other aboriginals across the world, reflect some deeper understanding of indigenous knowledge systems and the local telos and cosmologies (Morphy 1991: Graburn 1976). They make inferences to the

spirit and ancestral world, with the blackened tree believed in local Bushmen folklore to be the abode of ancestral spirits features frequently in the paintings, including in Riekie's known single production.

Moral Ecology and Vetkat Kruiper's painting

Vetkat's paintings are transcendental and enable observers to see and experience other cerebral states that are life enriching. The paintings do not leave the viewer feeling troubled or uncomfortable. Instead, they induce a sense of respect and satisfaction, even when one strives to better himself or herself in whatever they apply themselves to. The recurring motifs, tropes and even lexical statements promoting a harmonious balanced ecology in which killing is only done to renew and invigorate life is pleasing. The paintings make various statements that are respectful of environmental, social and moral ecology. Vetkat is drawing from his Bushman background and from basic human principles that unreasonable killing is immoral, even if it is the killing of animals. This is a dominant life sustaining view in the contemporary world, normally reinforced by older civilisations such as those of the Bushmen. For instance, Roy Sesana (2006), leader of the San organisation, First People of the Kalahari which is fighting to preserve the Bushman homeland in Botswana, spoke movingly about compassionate killing of game for human sustenance. He invoked the impression that in situations where man and animals are in harmony and respectful of each other, there is no senseless decimation of wild herds even for mere sport, but there is 'mutual' respect between the two, presumably because God gave lordship of his world to man and women. Says Sesana,

I grew up a hunter. All our boys and men are hunters... Hunting is going and talking to the animals. You don't steal. You go and ask. You set a trap or go with bow or spear. It can take days. You track the antelope. He knows you are there, he knows he has to give you his strength. But he runs and you have to run. As you run you become like him. It can last hours and exhaust you both. You talk to him and look into his eyes. And then he knows he must give you his strength so your children can live. The antelope are not our slaves, they do not wear bells on their necks and they can run faster than the lazy cow. We run through life together (Sesana cf. *New African*, March 2006: 33).

By no means is this hunt or the general life in the environment just "a kind of struggle against nature", but it is a communion of 'souls' and entities. Sesana's words echo the hunter's

introspection in *The Great Dance* (Foster & Foster 2000) before the last big kill when man and animal's keen awareness merge and they empathise with each other without avoiding the inevitable act of sustaining and replenishing the life and energy of the hunters and their families.

The ecological ontology is striking in these examples and reflects an elevated consciousness in harmony with nature and environment, which would be the best answer to environmental preservation and conservation. Conservation becomes intrinsically a spiritual issue that can only be ignored at the cost of the quality of life of human beings. It made sense why conservationists such as Ian Player and Malcolm Draper brought spiritualism in their ontology (Player 1998). In an interview with Keyan Tomaselli, conservationist Ian Player suggested 'spiritual-tourism' as an experiential option with answers to some of our contemporary psychological problems. This is a form of tourism that surpasses the narrow Cartesian separation between 'subject' and 'object'; otherwise a realisation of vital connections between the two and recognition of what happens in the encounter.

The question about boundaries within environmental ethics... about wilderness, even as a critic of the American idea of wilderness we've got to take wilderness out of remote places, and see it in the life of the everyday, in the garden, in the tree and boundaries in wilderness seem less and less certain like never before, boundaries between natural and supernatural, civilized and primitive collapse. It seems to me through cultural tourism, eco-tourism is a management of boundaries because tourists can love something to death and one has to maintain these boundaries, the question of enabling these boundaries and exist for the protection of plants and animals or people (Malcolm Draper, interview by Keyan Tomaselli, 1999).

Contemporary Bushmen political activists are quite clear about protection of plants and animals alongside the improvement of man and woman's standard of life. Sesana has his clear vision articulated above. When I interviewed Petrus Vaalboo (interview, 23 August 2006) former leader of the ≠Khomani Communal Property Association (CPA) he was very articulate about the existential needs and requirements of our times, again emphasising need to give rights and respects to all species. Vetkat's paintings encapsulate and reinforce the same universal consciousness and humanist sensibility and vision in the genre of visual art, appealing to the grace of the Almighty universal God for good guidance.

Vetkat and Belinda's Spiritualism – A call for therapeutic powers of nature

The humanism in the Kalahari inter-genre narratives is striking. The oral stories and the paintings, and the causal social encounters seem all to point to a call for mutual respect and understanding across cultural and racial differences for all peoples of the world. The motif of dance and participation in this global 'great dance' is ubiquitous in the arts and stories produced and reproduced by the ≠Khomani storytellers and artists. For example, Belinda's poem "come together to dance" is an invocation to mutual unity, co-existence and happiness in spite of differences:

So come with
Whoever you are
Just come with
No matter where you are
Just come with
White and black
Brown, yellow or what
It doesn't matter
Old or young, young or child
It doesn't matter
I and you you and I
We go together to the dance
The dance the dance (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 96).

Musicians often say music is a universal language, and I agree. When Vetkat strummed his guitar and sang his *liedjies* (songs) for us by the fireside, I felt relaxed and at peace with the world. Belinda's story recalls times when Vetkat sang and played those songs for her, and the placid happy ending of the book is valorised and somewhat sanctified by the beautiful *liedjies* that I hear playing as I read it (Bregin & Kruiper 2004, 101). I have also managed to re-live the mood and experience by replaying videos with Vetkat's jazzy sort of music in the background, and this too has assisted me with stimulating my memory, that at times I bet I actually smell the smoke and the food on the fire in the desert from the time when we visited. It is ephemeral but certainly imaginable, and the thoughts are beautiful and instil relaxation. I have played Tim's Reinhardt's video countless times for the musical background, especially after hearing about the death of Vetkat. I feel the nostalgia and the loss. The music is a sonic trope or motif that punctuates the narrative and synchronise the visuals of the Kalahari trip,

weaving in and out effortlessly. Mind/body neuroscientist Gregg Jacobs (2003) has again pointed out that music is amongst the essential ‘nutrients’ to health and happy living - ‘the good life’. The emotional and physiological effects of music are of course, dependent in part on the type of music one listens too. People quite often describe high-pitched music or major-key music as happy and low pitched or minor-key music as sad. While loud and fast music increases heart rate, blood pressure, and alertness, slower, quieter music is more likely to induce calm and relaxation. Music can induce private emotions such as excitement and serenity (Sachs 2007). Calming music alleviates stress-related physical symptoms such as pain and muscular tension. “Any kind of music that elicits positive emotions will enhance emotional well-being by counteracting the effects of unhealthy negative emotions”, says Jacobs (2003: 152).

There is nothing incongruous about a contemporary Bushman playing his type of music, painting postmodern abstract impressions of radios with cassette players, an artist about whom we now know was discovered at a SASI workshop at Welkom where he painted alongside others from the community with the inspirational background of reggae music selected by Catharine Scheepers a workshop organiser. We are reminded again that any attempt to live out the notion of a ‘primeval’ Bushman is impractical today. The Bushmanness, or the *being* Bushman *we see* is something symbolic and figurative, a metaphor or language with a multiple register, literal, and symbolic, in that it is simultaneously lived and imagined.

On reminiscing about my visit to Blinkwater, I visualise people from different cultures, races and background sitting around a fire at a homestead in the Kalahari – a Zimbabwean Shona, a Malawian, white South Africans, Afrikaner-speaking Cape Coloureds, and the hosting Bushman – different peoples, different races, different nationalities coming together and communing in the serene expanse of the desert, if only as visitors. While these encounters might seem cursory, they leave a calming effect. Belinda offered to her visiting friend Jody the Kalarari as a place where she can come and scream her lungs out of the stress and frustrations she experienced in the hectic environs of Cape Town. Jody had earlier thought of building a sound-proof gym where she could enter and vent out through scream: “The Kalahari is natural, cheaper and convenient”. You might find you do not even need to scream when there is all the expansive terrain waiting to be filled in with sounds and life. This might be the therapeutic quality of the environment and the art by its special citizens. My memory

evokes a strong mood of humanity striving towards wholeness. The fire point is the centre which draws us all together. The roundness of our sitting pattern symbolises wholeness, the opposite of that which is angled, slanted, incomplete, and most probably skewed and unequal. Vetkat would talk to the others or sing his *liedjies* almost quietly, almost without verbal emphasis, his words carefully chosen, poetic, measured, evocative and timeless, even though I didn't understand a single thing he said from a strictly linguistic sense. Although I did not immediately understand what he said, Vetkat would talk to others, to all of us, quietly, almost without verbal emphasis, his words carefully chosen, poetic, evocative and timeless: "*Ek leef omdat God leef* (I live because God lives)"... "*Kom net soos jy is* (Come just the way you are)".

This contemporary Bushmen and global compatriot of ours forces us to rethink the role and identity of ancient Bushmen culture. Other scholars before have brought sympathetic interpretations to studies of Bushmen of the past, what perhaps we need is empathy with their contemporary descendents and an understanding for their physically environment (see Chapman 1996). When I place the Bushmen at the centre of the politics of cultural resistance, I even start rethinking my claims to land in Zimbabwe on the basis of racial indigeneity, since the Zimbabwean terrain is replete with rock paintings that testify their earlier presence. I can only be a descendent of colonists. Yet I, like all modern people today, might be a descendent of the Bushmen, especially that some contemporary scientific studies are crediting Bushmen with the oldest human genetic material (Hennigan 2007; Bone 2009). In calling for the Bushmen and Khoi traditions to be placed at the centre of any attempt to liberate ourselves from the legacy of destructive, competing nationalisms, Ntongela Masilela (cf Chapman 1996) avoids Van der Post's tendency to flee from the twentieth century (or just contemporaneity) into the language and spirit of ancient times. Instead he situates the analysis of Bushman and Khoi songs and stories firmly within current debates about the need for assessment and evaluation of a unified South Africanism derived from common heritage (Chapman 1996: 33).

Unlike in the past where typical travel stories involved a traveller who left his metropolitan/civilised home for the wild interior, where he experienced trials and tribulations as part of adventure, and ultimately achieves a Jungian individuation or a sense of mature being and accomplishment, more and more narratives are now finding regenerative qualities both in body and spirit from their encounters with peoples previously stereotyped as inferior

and primitive (Jones 2001: 228). In this and previous chapters I have made a selective presentation of performances and exhibitions of Zuluness and Bushmanness by both individuals and communities. My final chapter makes a critical evaluation of the performative acts, artistic visuals and other ethnic motifs within the context of cultural tourism.

Chapter Eight

Critical Evaluation and Conclusion

There is a great deal written on how African performances, art and crafts are exoticised by 'Western' people and African humanity therefore denigrated (Clifford 1988; Lindfors 1999; Landau & Kaspin 2002; Steiner 1994; 1995; Thomas 1994). This perception largely falls in the binary distinctions of 'Western/Caucasian Same' and 'Oriental' or African 'Other', which has been seen to be a simplistic analysis arising from the traditional Western scholarship (Hinsley, 1981; Jahoda 1999; Mengara 2001; Mudimbe 2005; Tomaselli 2007; Wallerstein 1999). My study was not an attempt to recuperate this old established discourse, but to provide for new perspectives and affective ontologies that place the humanities of both visitors and hosts, observer and observed in dignified relations of interactions. Difference when presented as 'exotic', is used as an attractive curiosity that makes the one understand the other and even want to become the other if only momentarily. It is also not only the 'Western Same' (even in an ontological sense of someone trained to feel and think in so-called Western discourses) that visits the 'other' as my case helps to prove. I am both an insider-outsider, Same-Other to the cultures that I studied. As a human being, I might be a descendant of the Bushman since they are credited with the oldest genes for any human species. As a black Zimbabwean Shona man, I might have affinities to the Zulu as a fellow Bantu group with similar broader historical and linguistic linkages. I am the Same, but not exactly that. I am also an 'outsider' with my prejudices against the imaged composite/collective Zulu ethnic group. Their performances are both endearing and 'frightening' since they remind me of the baggage of history, but when they perform I understand they are well-meaning because the cultural tourism space has its presumed/expected propriety and normative behaviour (Allen & Brennan 2004; Butcher 2003).

The cultural tourism experience has provided opportunities for people from different and diverse backgrounds to sympathise and empathise with one another (McLennan-Dodd 2003; Sætre 2003). The experiences are therapeutic in many ways. For those coming from the hustle of urban life, cultural tourism to spaces where performers simulate pastoral lives or hunter-gatherer lives provide an opportunity for relief. The motif of healing recurs in written

and spoken narratives about such excursions (Isaacson 2001; McLennan-Dodd 2003; Player 1998; Tomaselli 2007). I personally came to appreciate my own condition in the world and would be careful not to blame the 'West' or the 'Whites' for all problems that befalls marginalised people. I have lived and exchanged ideas with a white American Kyle Enevoldsen, a white Canadian Michael Francis, and a white supervisor, besides conducting research in a team largely composed of 'white' researchers. I did not suffer any 'racism' but I could tell that we all had our anxieties of going out and getting 'accepted' and welcomed by our chosen communities of research, in my case the ≠Khomani and the Zulu at cultural villages (Tomaselli 2005; Von Strauss 2000; Dyll 2004; 2007). I understood my colleagues more as individual personalities than as constitutive typifications of the 'Western Same' or 'Whites'. Similarly, I interacted on a personal level with the subject members of the communities that I studied – those I had the opportunity to speak to on individual terms rather than just observing them. This has resulted in my constant communication with Belinda Kruiper, and getting to know of the sad loss of Vetkat Kruiper. I have also managed to keep in communication with Soka Mthembu at Simunye cultural village, and his invitations for me to visit again still need to be taken up.

I have focused on the visual cultures of the Zulu and ≠Khomani Bushman in cultural-tourism related sites. Considerable literature is proving that there is no monolithic Zulu or Bushman identity, but variously there are Bushmen identities and Zulu identities (Coplan 2002; Francis 2007; Le Roux 2004; Sithole *et al* 2008; Tomaselli 2007). My fieldwork outside cultural villages has testified to the existence of different groups of Bushman and Zulu who present themselves in strikingly different ways. In the Drakensberg area of Kamberg, the Duma family are re-enacting imagined Bushman traditions, though not for commercial purposes. As is the case with those who have initiated cultural village ventures, the Duma have received various assistance from anthropologists towards the recovery and reconstruction of their cultural history and memory (Prins 2000: Frans Prins, interview, 18 April 2003; email correspondence 25 August 2003). At Platfontein in Kimberley there were visual crafts and art made by the local people that were distinctly different from Vetkat's art stylistically, although the universal Bushman iconography remained discernible in those 'differences'.

Belinda Kruiper's Bushmanness is even more intricate. She has adopted a people, mythologised her affiliation to them, and has located herself strategically as a spokesperson for the community. Interestingly, after her husband's death she is broadening her Bushman

identity and activities beyond the #Khomani of the Northern Cape. Always on a spiritual journey, she wrote me recently that she is on a spiritual path and has been honoured by the Botswana Bushman, through the spiritual ‘legitimation’ of the spiritual healer Besa¹⁵³, to lead the young dancers and to be a trance carrier for them. She claims she is the first woman of another culture to be honoured that way. Hence, she ‘resigns’ herself to her fate: “This of course is a complete faith road, and me busy with last battle, the practical need money etc bit. Deep down I realise I have no choice, as a Spiritual Healer, I must serve” (Belinda Kruiper, email correspondence, December 2007). Since then, one of Vetkat’s paintings facilitated her visit to Tsumke in Namibia where she met an all female village! Before Vetkat died they had been to Botswana with his art, and to New York, exhibiting a cosmopolitan Bushmanness. Belinda is not the only person reinventing herself, as Bushmanness can be the identity of choice for some people such as Dawid Kariseb and Abraham Meinjties whose ‘genetic’ links are tenuous, though they self-perform Bushmanness.

In the performative industry some white people have performed as Zulu, with Barry Leitch being notable, although there are other visitors to cultural villages such as Lesedi who have married in the imagined ‘traditional African way’ with appropriate attire – *ibheshu* (loin skin) and all. For a performing Zulu such as Leitch a significant part of his Zulu identity is linked to his proficiency in the language and knowledge of Zulu cultural beliefs and exhibitiv behaviour such as the *inkunzi* (bull) dance.

At Ndumo in Maputaland, in the north east of KwaZulu Natal where Zulu hegemonic culture is present in the use of the Zulu language amongst other things, Don Mthembu (a headmaster at a local school) complained that local school children lost out in dancing competitions to schools down in the Eshowe region because they did not raise their feet as high enough as the Zulu in the Eshowe area. The local ‘Zulu’ were not considered Zulu enough, and indeed once a new headmaster was deployed who was unpopular with the local community, it was said to be because of his “uppity” Zulu ways in comparison to the local ways of behaviour.

Due to the ambiguities and contradictions found in notions of ethnic identity among those who live and claim to belong or are ascribed to one or the other ethnic group, I make no

¹⁵³ Besa is a Bushman healer whose works are extensively written about in Rupert Isaacson’s *The Healing Land* (2001). Dawid Kruiper consulted him, and Belinda accompanied Isaacson and the other Bushmen for spiritual reconnections facilitated by Besa.

absolute argument as to who is or what constitutes ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ Zulu or Bushman. The contemporary Zulu population is rife with splits and contradictions as boundaries shift and people renegotiate their identity in terms of the past and the present circumstances (Coplan 2002; Francis 2007; Sithole *et al* 2008). As much as cultural performances may want to present a homogenous picture of ethnicity, whether for the Zulu or the Bushman, the evidence available shows that there is much more complexity, variety and even internal differences in the supposed universal ethnicities.

Theorising identities

The thesis concludes that the identities recreated and performed in the cultural tourism industry are intrinsically fictive. The reality of simulations is the reality that viewers should accept as reality, otherwise, from a semiotic and philosophical perspective there is nothing out there (Auslander 1996; Badiou 2005; Baudrillard 1983). Once again, reference to Kwame Anthony Appiah (1992:174) is apt for the purposes of clarification on all types of identities, whether in quotidian lives or at site-specific cultural villages:

Every human identity is constructed, historical; every one has its share of false presuppositions, of the errors and inaccuracies that courtesy calls “myths”, religion “heresy”, and science “magic”. Invented histories, invented biologies, invented cultural affinities come with every identity; each is a kind of role that has to be scripted, structured by conventions of narrative to which the world never quite manages to conform.

While all identities are “a product of the rough-and-tumble of the transition through colonial to postcolonial status”, it is, as Appiah again notes, ineffectual to dismiss ethnicity, religion and all other social identities as idealised “fiction”, because life has come to be lived through that idealisation. He thus argues the Igbo identity is real because Nigerians believe in it, and so is the Shona identity because Zimbabweans have given it meaning (Appiah 1992: 177). In short, whatever variations of identity associated with Zuluness or Bushmen ‘staged’ by cultural performers are ‘real’ by virtue of the fact that they are ‘accepted’ and used by relevant communities. Again, even at cultural villages it is not possible to present a homogenous ethnic identity free of contradictions and ambiguities and simply relying on the well-known iconic attributes, cultural mores, motifs and archetypes. Whilst ‘essentialised’ identities of Zuluness or Bushmanness are performed and exhibited, these remain templates through which both viewers and hosts negotiate their encounters in the cultural experience. In

the staged performances of Bushmen-ness and Zuluness, there is a fine distinction between “fiction” and what is “fictive”. “Fiction” can be ‘lies’ or ‘untruths’, but it is also a representation of the actual/real person or thing. Fiction can also mean the constructedness of any work of art. Whereas, the “fictive” is fanciful; it is the fantastical element in how we as people think relate. It is the (intellectual) resource that we use to create a work of fiction.

The contemporaneity of the Zulu and Bushmen outside Cultural Tourism

The Zulu and the Bushman have become infinitely cosmopolitan over the centuries given their encounters with the outside world in various degrees. They are citizens of the global information age and consume goods and services that are universally accessible to all other peoples targeted by the markets. Satellite dishes, CNN, KFC and many other gadgets of contemporary modernity can be found both in the KwaZulu-Natal hinterland and in the Kalahari. However, as the respective Zulu and Bushmen societies opened up on many fronts, they have simultaneously turned inward on other fronts. They have grown a heightened and conscious ‘traditional’ outlook in some crucial respects, especially in areas and behaviours that they deem important for both individual and group survival and preservation. The vigorous campaigns on virginity testing in KwaZulu-Natal and the resuscitation of sex education in Bushman communities are cases in point. The HIV/AIDS scourge has rekindled the interest and prestige of virginity testing for Zulu maids at a time when the custom and practice was nearly being frowned upon as a primitive practice that threatens the human rights and sexual privacy of the girl child (Lambert 2008; Marcus 2008). The valorisation of the virginity tests and the *umhlanga* (reed) dances are strategic ways of dealing with the contemporary problems. However, the same techniques pose their own dilemmas and new intrinsic problems, such as invasion of privacy or risking virgins to sexual perverts who might want to prey on them. Virginity testing, however does not put much pressure on males to account for their behaviour with regards to contracting HIV, nor does it address prostitution and homosexuality that have been implicated in the spread of the disease.

The hybridization of “traditions” is not unique to the Zulu and Bushmen as Alexander Stille (2002) notes that in Egypt with the abundance of cosmopolitan influences that include McDonald’s, Pizza Hut, satellite dishes, CNN, and David Letterman, in the last several years there has been a sudden proliferation of the chador – the veil traditionally worn by Islamic women – which had been gradually disappearing from the streets of Cairo in recent decades.

Could this be a resistance articulation of independence and cultural rights at a time when the French government was in the public media trying to bar Moslem girls from coming to school covering their heads in this way?

Francis (2007: 62) has made conclusions that are pertinent to my own study of both the Zulu and the Bushmen. He wrote:

The synthetic memory of film and media carries over into daily life of the Zulu people. Zulu life is replete with signs and symbolism whether or not it appears in a TV series, cultural village or rural village. The media images resonate throughout Zulu communities, just as they were once based on Zulu communities. The impact of the mass-mediated imagery, even in far-flung corners of KwaZulu-Natal, does occur. The signs of such an impact appear in clothing worn by the youth, American hip-hop music and the like. As for Zulu-specific imagery we see the ongoing influence of the Zulu King and the IFP. It is unimportant whether or not an event is an 'authentic' reflection of a culture as it gains its authenticity from its creation and use. This may create and maintain negative stereotypes, such as Zulu people as savage or warlike as contemporary Zulu celebrate their warrior status at political rallies. Songs, ceremonial dress, and many dances often reflect a warrior heritage as past battles are sung about, Zulu weapons are carried and dances re-create battle scenes.

The notion of syncretism has to be used more often to qualify the existential realities that constitute individual subjectivities. It is arguable that the Zulu and the Bushmen are also exploiting long established media images of themselves, and reinventing these conveniently today for symbolic cultural reasons and political affirmation. Instead of focusing on the binaries of lived experiences versus media text, and the authentic and the 'staged' ('fake'), we perhaps ought to accept the identity or identities that manifest themselves through evolving cultural activities. This is what Angela McRobbie (1992; see also Gray 2003: 7) has termed 'identity-in-culture' in order to represent the complexities of lived and simulated cultural experiences.

Anthro-tourists and Cultural Tourism: Relating the Academic Gaze

Due to the affective nature of cultural encounters, I do not pretend my experiences are representative of all other touristic experiences, nor do the sites described serve as a generalisation for other sites in South Africa. As a reflexive constructor of the present cultural document I have the privilege to narrate from my subjective perspective. Nonetheless

certain qualities of my gaze can be investigated; that is to say my race, gender, nationality might have certain influences, both witting and unwitting, on what I have said about myself and others. The Others are not just the 'object' of my gaze and of enquiry at specific cultural tourism sites, but Others are inclusive of my research colleagues. Although I differed from many of the tourists and fellow researchers I encountered in my cultural tourism experiences, there were also ways in which I was connected to these individuals through my relative positioning and activity within tourist environments. Much as I might have reservations about being called a tourist, and my preference for a much more analytical identity as "anthro-tourist", I believe a presentation of the gaze as described by John Urry (1990) will elucidate what I have gone through, and alternatively that which I have not experienced.

The Tourist Gaze

Urry's (1990) notion of the *tourist gaze*, rooted in Michel Foucault's (1975; 1977) work, submits that each tourist has a different, ideologically negotiated way of looking at things shaped by gender, socioeconomic class, and a host of other factors. He does much to challenge what he sees as the determinism of earlier tourism research by emancipating the tourist from being an automaton within a specifically designed tourist space. In other words, he acknowledges the constant negotiation of meaning that takes place in the tourism environment and how this contrasts with the view that tourists play predictably into the hands of those who organise tourist spaces and events. More importantly, Urry points out that, although the tourist seeks something different to somehow escape everyday life, he or she is also free to accept or refuse the presented environment. The gaze, in other words, is more of a product of the tourist self than the position in which the tourist is placed.

Tourists, like academics, might also question what they see - a phenomenon has referred to as the "questioning" gaze (Bruner 2001: 882). However, the tourist, for Urry (1990), serves as a static archetype of those who dream of the exotic and the different to temporarily distance themselves from their ordinary, uninteresting lives. Dean MacCannell (2001) critiques this theory by proposing a "second" gaze, which not only follows the same emancipated view offered by Urry but also makes room for tourists who might have a need for more than just the "extra-ordinary": What does this second gaze have in view? It sees a subject whose definition is exhausted by the condition of its visibility. It sees a subject that is not much distanced from ego; that is, a unified subject, centered and transcendent. What the second gaze has in view is the Foucauldian subject, or the tourist subject *à la* Urry. It is also, not by

chance, the Western subject, the same as the one given by Renaissance perspective; the subject that is world famous for mis-recognising itself as the source and center of everything.

MacCannell (1989) does not deny Urry's formulation of tourist agency as ego-centered, but he does go further to emancipate the tourist from what he calls Urry's "determinism" (1990: 24). The second gaze is not one focused exclusively on an escape from the ordinary or mundane. Rather, it provides for the tourist who wants something new to talk about beyond what can simply be seen. This surrealist, penetrating gaze, with its theoretical roots in Lacanian psychoanalysis and existentialism, is a new activity for the tourist. It is a part of tourist agency that transcends the immediately knowable and allows for hypothesis about the unknown, although not in the sense of scientific inquiry (Urry 1990: 29-32). According to Kyle Enevoldsen (2003) this is an informed assumption, perhaps bordering on fantasy but grounded in a perceived need to know more. Tim Edensor (2001: 62) critiques the "performative norms" of the typology of tourist activity:

Performative norms need to be continually enacted to retain their power, and the prescriptive conventions and values that inhere in them are rarely disrupted if they are performed unreflexively. An unreflexive disposition characterizes much tourism and where this is not the case, where reflexive improvisation and a critical disposition are mobilized, the resultant ambiguity can threaten the sense of well-being that is one of the main aims of tourism - to relax and let go. Self surveillance engenders a froth of self-doubt, not conducive to having a good time.

More questions are likely to arise from the tourist or academic encounter. Enevoldsen (2003: 497) wonders if typologies such as these are very helpful. He asks, "Do categorical assumptions really explain the tourist (or the academic)? Are tourists really going to avoid self-reflection to continue having a good time?" (2003: 497) If, as Jonathan Friedman (1994: 12) has stated, the "present...[is] an ongoing articulation between global and local processes", it is difficult to see how a concretized model explains how either the tourist or the academic attempt to know and understand the Other. Furthermore, it is difficult to tell how MacCannell's tourist would penetrate the unseen.

As Robert Stebbins (1996; 1997) has commented, cultural tourism is supposed to be "serious leisure." As a subset of activities that are often designed to engage the intellect - at least

somewhat - as much as the pocketbook, cultural tourism often seeks to nourish the active tourist who is motivated to seek special information rather than amusement alone. Perhaps one reason why cultural tourism attracts the special attention that it does from various branches of academia is that it seeks to provide this special knowledge (Enevoldsen 2003). Cultural tourism environments invited the academic's interest in the kind of information presented. Malcolm Crick (1995) and Edward Bruner (1995) have both pointed to certain qualities that separate tourist agency from academic agency: a difference in analytical tools, different goals (sheer pleasure versus publishing), and so on. This does not mean, however, that the academic gaze can be disconnected completely from the tourist gaze, especially in light of Bruner's (2001) notion of the questioning gaze. Although many tourists might be prone to accepting the scene at face value, others are certainly not. Similarly, the academic's special knowledge might not always be sufficient to interpret what it encounters. Engaging in the systematic observation of culture and lifestyle and attempting to probe layers of meaning to find out what is really "going on" are daunting tasks, indeed. Sometimes, however, the process of engaging in serious leisure can be just as challenging for tourists. Academics are better equipped to analyze representations offered in cultural tourism environments. But they are not so different than tourists in that they, also, have a way of seeing (Stoller, 1984) the objects of cultural tourism that might not always be sufficient to explain what is really happening. In practice, the tourist and the academic are both outsiders. Although tourists might always be relegated to the front in MacCannell's (1973) version of Erving Goffman's (1959) performance space, academics are sometimes no more privileged.

The academic gaze differs from MacCannell's (2001) example of the second tourist gaze in that the academic gaze results in the inevitable attempt to systematically explain what has been seen (Crick 1985). There is a connection between the tourist gaze and the academic gaze at some level, although the latter strives to apply Science/Logic to the encounters in order to make the experience intelligible, reflexive, through scholarly documentation and explanation. Anthro-tourists have an ambiguous relationship with the tourism experience. They are known to begrudgingly accept the identity of tourist, but have a proclivity to qualify their identity (Enevoldsen 2003; Rojek 2004). Anthro-tourists include researchers and academics studying leisure, tourism, cultural studies and anthropology. They are different from the conventional tourist because they engage in rigorous ethnographic recording of their observations. Quite often, the researcher has studied the culture of the people he is interested in prior to his fieldwork endeavours, and often speaks the language of the subject-people as well.

Researchers study the spectacle, including the behaviour and attitudes of tourists. In a reflexive turn, researchers also critique their own positions and assumptions in the cultural tourism experience. Academics learn as they travel, and they travel intellectually through actual journey. They learn through interactions and observations (Jeursen & Tomaselli 2007). The idea of travelling becoming relentless ‘border crossing’, in which the traveller is daring to go into different worlds, if possible use different languages, and understand a multiplicity of disguises, masks, and rhetoric. According to Henry Giroux quoting Edward Said, “Travellers must suspend the claim of the customary routine in order to live in the new rhythms and rituals...[T]he traveller crosses over, traverses territory, and abandons fixed positions all the time” (2004: 150). Referring to Said again, Giroux says “the border intellectual and traveller...embodied the notion of always ‘being not quite right’, evidenced by his principled critique of all forms of certainties and dogmas and his refusal to be silent in the face of human suffering at home and abroad” (2004: 150). In my case, I was both ingratiated by the spirit of multiracial community I experienced in the travels that regrettably my homeland nearly denies because of its own form of fundamental nationalism on the pretext of land reclamation for historically marginalised “blacks” (Mhiripiri 2008; Vambe 2008). At the same time, the lumpen-proletariat condition of the ≠Khomani was morally thorny and I felt the best I could do was to articulate their condition so that they are not alone in championing for improvements in their standards of living.

Academics need not be ashamed to be classified as tourists and in their research endeavours they also must not unduly disrupt the tourist experience which others seek. People have the right to choose the tourist experiences they want, including the appreciation of supposedly ‘exotic’ cultures. Many academics involved in fields of study that employ ethnographic techniques consciously try to avoid the symptoms of the tourist gaze in an effort to ensure and maintain objectivity. During my participation in large group tours at places such as Shakaland and Lesedi, I mingled with tourists as a tourist, and my questions were not supposed to make people ‘guarded’ in reaction to my ‘academic gaze’. When one is placed within an environment of “stereotypic images, discredited histories, and romantic fantasies” (Bruner, 2001; 886), this reaction seems natural, especially when the researcher is unsure of the implications of his or her disclosure of identity to the big group of touring ‘strangers’. Despite my active efforts to know more, I do not feel like I “penetrated” any deep-seated realities that were not already present, but my gaze was part of the psychophysical function of seeing and experiencing.

Like all human beings, anthropologists engage in the act of seeing. What differentiates anthropological seeing from other forms of seeing is that our “gaze” is directed toward an ethnographic Other. We talk to ethnographic Others during fieldwork and attempt to make sense of what *they* say and do. Due to the centrality of fieldwork to the anthropological enterprise, most anthropologists give their eyes and minds to the world of the Other. Although anthropologists, like painters, lend their bodies to the world, we tend to allow our senses to penetrate the Other’s world rather than letting our senses be penetrated by the world of the Other. The result of this tendency is that we represent the Other’s world from the outside in a generally turgid discourse¹⁵⁴ which often bears very little resemblance to the worlds we are attempting to describe (Stoller 1984:93).

Paul Stoller’s words seem to allude to the frustration experienced by all who wish to seek more than face value in knowing the Other, whether they are anthropologists or not (Enevoldsen 2003).

The post-tourist and cultural tourism

There is no definitive description of a tourist or cultural tourism. Essentialist conceptions of the tourist as a Caucasian most probably from Europe or America are no longer standard. Visits to foreign places are no longer just an experience to encounter the ‘exotic’ and reinforce one’s sense of alterity. The colonial discourses of power-knowledge that prejudge encounters between black Africans and Caucasians or other people are now destabilised and participants in the tourist occasion negotiate roles and relations, and notions of the “good tourist” as opposed to “the bad tourist” make those involved sensitive to each other and respectful. Visual and behavioural actions are not always predicated on the unequal relations inherited from colonialism (Mudimbe 1988: 11). Apparently, there is no specific format according to which tourism can be viewed in every community, nor is there only one type of tourist or only one form of tourist behaviour. Tourists are intrinsically diverse, and they are interpretive spectators and readers whose conduct and experiences help define them (Bauman 1996: 29-30; Edensor 2001: 61).

¹⁵⁴ My performative writing style and my sensitivity to the diction of the people, who constitute the subject of my study, have been a conscious attempt to avoid falling into this kind of “generally turgid discourse”. For example, here, I shun rote academism that denies the idiosyncrasies and special attributes of the largely lumpen-proletariat Bushmen I met.

The cultural tourism industry situates visitors as “pop anthropologists, as fleeting observers of people, cultures, animals and ways of life” (Tomaselli 2001b). The object of the gaze of cultural tourists is the ‘Other’, and researchers and academics are “anthro-tourists” who record and critique their experiences. When other tourists are “fleeting” and in and out of the tourist experience, the anthro-tourists extract information and at times bring discomfort to the performers who want the acts to end merely as uncritiqued leisure.¹⁵⁵ Tour guides and management tend to be guarded when they are scrutinised on what they are doing, especially in postcolonial South Africa where racial sensitivities are easy to pick out in such encounters. I noticed that the Bushman coordinator Danny Jacobs and the OstriSan proprietor Andreas Coetzee looked on guard when we interviewed them. Keyan Tomaselli tells me that Coetzee was particularly offended by a journalistic article written by Elana Bregin after our tour to Ostri-San. Soka Mthembu, my informant from Simunye, would suddenly cut communication or not respond at all if seemingly ‘sensitive’ information pertaining to their construction of Zuluness was asked about (Soka Mthembu, email correspondence, 31 December 2003; August 2008). The discomfort exhibited by cultural performers when my research group stayed well after the large scheduled group of tourists left is testimony of the need to maintain the ‘frontstage’ and ‘backstage’ regions even when these are often separated only by show schedule times. The frontstage is in operation when tourists are available for a planned tour, and thereafter the same commercial village on which performers live then expect the full benefits and privacy of a ‘back region’.

Postmodern tourists are characterised by their reflexivity. They often acknowledge and understand that cultural tourism is performative or ‘staged authenticity’ (Brunner 2002: 391-392; Edensor 2001). They are sophisticated and critique performances and assumptions; they are able to subvert some preferred readings of tourist displays as was apparent especially during my Lesedi cultural experience. They interpret the subject of their gaze according to the schemata they already carry in their minds. The schemata might be a simplified “cultural frame” popularised and mass-circulated by the media, which they then respond to by visiting designed themed sites, where they interact existentially, following a script and assisting in its development and reinvention. This explains the reinvention of the space of “ancestors” and

¹⁵⁵ Ironically, the “pop anthropologist” or “anthro-tourist” equally does not stay long enough to qualify to be a proper anthropologist or ethnographer.

the “byre” being read as the “Zulu bank”. Post-tourists are more interested in seeing a good amusing show than in ‘authenticity’. Thus Bruner (2002: 392) writes about them:

For these post-tourists, their enjoyment of the experience is more important than the accuracy of the representation. They do realize that what is being shown to them in images and on the tour itinerary is a construction that the “primitive pastoralists” on display are actors in a touristic drama devised for their pleasure. Images are understood as if they were in a novel or a Hollywood movie, for entertainment value. The constructedness of the image and story becomes transparent. These tourists do not really take seriously the Western fantasy of the primitive untouched pastoralists, but this does not detract from their enjoyment of travel experience. These consumers of visual images are more playful in their interpretations.

The concept of “play” and “make-believe” best qualify the postmodern touristic experience. According to George Ritzer and Allan Liska (1997: 107-8), tourists today are “blissfully content with ... simulated lives”, and they search for anything but authenticity¹⁵⁶ in their leisure time. Tourists at Simunye, for instance, peeped into a rondavel¹⁵⁷ where there was an electric deep-freezer, and whispered gleefully about its incongruous presence in the supposedly traditional environment. Nobody however confronted the tour guide about this observation, as if they were not particularly fussy about ‘accuracy’ and ‘authenticity’, whatever it entails given the constructedness of exhibitions and performances.

Other tourist experiences show a paradigm shift from tourism as a route for escapism to one of enrichment. Tourists interested in historical background, cultural identity, cultural meanings and heritage engage in processes of personal discovery (Isaacson 2001; McLennan-Dodd 2003; Sætre 2003; Taleb 2007). They divulge development in personal character, empathetic realisations, and a general appreciation and respect of cultural differences and those who make an effort to act their imagined ‘ethnic’ selves for cultural Others’. Although these auto-ethnographies show the ‘regenerative’ experiences of anthro-tourists who have visited the ≠Khomani Bushman, I think more similar testimonies would also be written if visits to Zulu cultural villages are consistent and researchers come to know the cultural performers there as intimately as they know those they meet in the Kalahari. Such intimate

¹⁵⁶ This is contrary to Dean MacCannell’s classic thesis about tourists going out in search of ‘authenticity’.

¹⁵⁷ A traditional African style house round in shape and made with materials that can be locally obtained in raw form.

and personalised visits have been investigated amongst the “secret San” of the Duma clan who, incidentally, speak and live amongst the Zulu (see Francis 2007). There is, however, a striking case of an African-American couple that now visit Simunye annually for cultural reaffirmation. The couple married in an imagined Zulu way at the commercial village, and it is now a place of deep sentimental and historical value to them. They surely think themselves as Zulu, just as the local whites who love Zulu culture and language have infused themselves into the ways of the people. What the African American couple has done is not strange given that a prominent personality such as Oprah Winfrey has decided she is Zulu, besides being African American (Carton 2008: 3). In this case, identity is self-ascribed, even when genetic tracing can possibly link some people to particular ethnic groups.

Tourists gave different reasons for coming to the cultural villages, especially the Zulu ones. A Xhosa man at Lesedi said he wanted to know more about Zulu culture because the Zulu he interacts with in his cosmopolitan suburban world are highly acculturated. A white lady I met at the Lesedi bar disclosed that she came to the village to learn the basics about ‘African’ culture and traditions. This was a first step to getting acquainted with another culture before she got into much more ‘personalised intimate’ relationship with black Africans.

The paradox of Post-tourism

Authenticity is ever dubious, since, if Baudrillard (1983) is correct, we are living in a world of the copy, of analogies and simulacra (Baudrillard 1983; Hall 1996; Taussig 1993). Tourists are interested in the spectacle, and their satisfaction is in the endeavour to experience, a sense of having been there. The paradox of the modern tourist is travel towards “a utopia of authenticity” that remains unattainable since it is simulated (Oakes 2002). The postmodern global environment affords people information and knowledge of others from diverse sources and not only the dominant media. The cross-cultural traveller can revise old prejudices, myths and stereotypes. Both tourists and hosts are capable of reflexive encounters in which creative post-modern performers and post-tourists emerge. The post-tourist is a performer in the leisure and entertainment script, and at times the ‘success’ of the performance is partly dependent on the complicitous role the latter plays.

The appeal of cultural tourism rests on notions of ethnic ‘markers’ and ‘theming’ (Gottdiener 1997; MacCannell 1973; Rojek 2005). The Zulu and Bushman archetypal characteristics imagined to be drawn from a long history of traditions are the main attractions to tourists.

“Traditional” Zulu and Bushman skills like warfare, trance, *sangomahood*, tracking, hunting and gathering, and craft making are part of the cultural makers of predominantly sedentary and pastoralist communities. The sedentary and pastoralist basis of the said communities might not be the only economic activity available to the self-performers since they are situated in the neoliberal market economy as cultural performers. While performers and craft makers desire to enact ‘authentic’ Bushman and Zulu culture, they are never completely objectified as cultural Others. They act as agentic participants in the tourism industry; they are modern subjects who benefit from commodifying themselves through a range of commercial and legal transactions (Garland & Gordon 1999: 278-279).

A postmodern conception of the activities of performative Zulu and Bushmen reveals we are dealing with “the enigma of authenticity in the age of the poseur” (Goldman & Papson 1996: 184). As cultural production accelerates and postmodern styles of pastiche, parody and plagiarism proliferate, recognition of the original becomes difficult (Garland & Gordon 1999: 279). The notion of ‘reality’ is ‘vexatious’ to tourists; thus they find comfort in being playful and subverting claims towards ‘originality’ and ‘authenticity’ whenever tour guides make such presentations. Where the tourist encounter is not confined to spectacle, tourists participate in the dances, hunting and gathering, as a way of identifying with their hosts. Then, they momentarily ‘become’ the Other while the encounter lasts. However, post-tourists have limits to the extent to which they ‘immerse’ themselves into the ‘culture’ and ‘traditions’ of the Other. They still want to retain personal security, a sense of hygiene and comfort while enjoying the (in) authenticity of the cultural experience. Tourists are active participants or performers in the tourism act where they also map out their individual and group identities; their performance is a ‘discreet concretization of cultural assumptions’ (Edensor 2001: 71-79). The Zulu and Bushmen stage ‘authenticity’ for monetary benefits and personal cultural affirmation. The individuals and groups acting out ‘traditional’ Zulu or Bushman lifestyles for tourists realise these are invaluable cultural and economic resources in their quest to secure a future. Some of them have progressed professionally in the cultural tourism industry, such as Soka Mthembu of Simunye who started as a dancer and is now in management. It, however, would be harsh to conclude that cultural performers are into the business for economic survival. Evaluating the reasons for Bushmen participation in cultural tourism Steven Robins (2001: 850) writes empathetically:

They are creative and self-conscious producers of the cultural commodities that fuel a fledgling tourist and donor-driven economy. These developments are not merely instrumental manipulations of culture and identity in order to gain access to material resources. They are also cultural practices aimed at the recuperation of social memory and identity similar to other cultural reclamations taking place throughout post-apartheid South Africa. The problem with such strategic essentialism...is that it can end up obscuring intra-community differences along class, age or gender lines. These 'ethnic' strategies of mobilization also tend to ignore and degrade cultural hybridities in the name of 'pure essences' and cultural continuity, thereby encouraging the kinds of tensions between 'pure' and 'westernised' Bushmen that emerged in the Kalahari.

Performance and Media-Reality Paradox

In many ways, the performative acts at the cultural villages are re-enactments of the anthropological knowledge and mediatised images about what is supposed to be 'traditional' culture. The involvement and contributions of anthropologists or consultants in the establishment of certain ventures is testimony to this. Barry Leitch studied anthropology and he has constantly consulted academia for the 'authenticiation' of his site-specific cultural re-enactments. Danie Jacobs tried something similar at OstriSan judging from our discussions with him in which he disclosed he was at the time studying anthropology with the University of South Africa (UNISA). Philip Auslander argues (1996: 202):

The live performances and first order of signification visuals at cultural villages have thus become the means by which mediatised representations are naturalised, according to a simple logic that appeals to people's nostalgia for what is assumed was in the im-mediate: if the mediatised image can be recreated in live setting, it must have been "real" to begin with.

The irony is that what people originally intended to be used as the record (anthropological memory, and media representations) to preserve the performance (culture), has become the *real* or *actual* in contemporary performative cultures (Attali 1985: 85). According to Auslander (1996: 202-203), this schema resolves or fails to resolve into an impossible oscillation between what is the real and the copied; whereas mediatised performances derive their authority from their reference to the live/lived or the real, the live now derives its authority from its reference to the mediatised, which derives its authority from its reference to the live, etc. Eventually the mediatised and the live experience are conjoined. Only Baudrillard's paradigm of simulation can best give sense in this apparent ambiguity and

inauthenticity. Baudrillard writes; “nothing separates one pole from the other, the initial from the terminal: there is just a sort of contraction into each other, a fantastic telescoping, a collapsing of the two traditional poles into one another: an IMPLOSION...(*This is where simulation begins*)” (1983: 57 emphasis as in original). As a result of this IMPLOSION, the ascendance of the simulacra, a new “site of anxiety” emerges which is both distressing and enlightening. This is the anxiety that “infects” all those who are interested in making a distinction between the live and the mediated; in the case of performances at cultural villages it is how people live/lived then in the imagined past and how they live now as counterpoised to how the popular media mediates the same lives (Auslander 1996: 203). Auslander (1996) finds in this anxiety and ambiguities the reasons why some performance theorists are preoccupied with the integrity of the live (original/authentic) as opposed to the “corrupt, coopted nature of the mediated, but “naturalized”. Binaries implode, so to speak, both at perceptual levels and ideological levels.

Perhaps the South African cultural tourism industry focusing on Zulu re-enactments might want to take heed from the conclusions reached by Auslander. Zulu cultural villages continue to proliferate in the provinces of South Africa, and at the last systematic count at the end of the last millennium there were over thirty of them (Jansen van Veuren 2000). There might be an over-production¹⁵⁸ of these visual cultures and the related site-specific performances that they end up without real clientele as people and tourists presuppose they have already seen everything about ‘traditional’ Zulu culture elsewhere after all. The danger of over-production of simulacra is best articulated again by Auslander in relation to his concept of anxiety:

Anxiety is (also) manifest in the response of capital to the collapse of (the distinction between the live and the mediated). Simulation occurs at the moment a cultural economy is thoroughly saturated with repetitions. It threatens to undermine the economy of repetition by imploding oppositions on which that economy depends: in order to render performance in a repeatable form, there must be an “original” performance to reify (Auslander 1996: 203).

Valentin Mudimbe (2005) comprehensively writes about this analogous media-reality paradox. He says “through analogy, one can construct the activity of a gene or of an

¹⁵⁸ I do acknowledge that this “over-production” of visual cultures might actually end up being/becoming the new real, with no tourist audiences, and the performers will perform for themselves in some way “re-creating” the original motivation for the traditional performance.

organism”. To extrapolate the relationship between the one thing and the other which paradoxically are often represented as intrinsically the same Mudimbe quotes Richard Lewontin who wrote:

While we cannot dispense with metaphors in thinking about nature, there is a great risk of confusing the metaphor with the thing of real interest. We cease to see the world *as if* it were like a machine and take it to *be* a machine. The result is that the properties we ascribe to our object of interest and the questions we ask about it reinforce the original metaphorical image and we miss the aspects of the system that do not fit the metaphorical approximation. As Alexander Rosenblueth and Norbert Weiner have written, *The price of metaphor is eternal vigilance* (emphasis added) (cf Mudimbe 2005).

Mudimbe then argues that the intelligence of “a media-oriented culture” crosses this paradox. He acknowledges that the vast majority of media practitioners, (journalists, critiques, academics included), seem unaware of how duplicitous, words and images can be. Words, indeed, create mythologies doubling narratives about realities and “hold us hostage to their smooth, elegant fictions” (Mudimbe 2005: 6-7).

Culture as a strategic resource for marginalised groups

David Coplan (2002) has tried to theorise the role and place of culture and tradition in contemporary South Africa where there are still millions of people living marginally. He sourly notes that in an economy which has failed to benefit the majority after the euphoria of majority rule, people need to find something to take pride in. Past glory is a possible point of amelioration. Nonetheless, the past glory is problematic and ought to be reimagined and reinvented with full cognition of the demands and exigencies of postmodernity. While Mandela’s concept of the “Rainbow Nation” presupposed ethnic and racial pluralism, Thabo Mbeki’s notion of “African Renaissance” in some ways invoked the spirit of a glorious past especially amongst people historically marginalised by colonialism.

However, the problem of revisiting and reinventing the past has its own problematic. Coplan (2002) wonders precisely what past glory ought to be revived? He asks whether people are not content with the current “mild-mannered, cultivated voluptuary” Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini; would they rather Zwelithini re-invents himself as Shaka? Or should the region’s republics model themselves after the functioning absolutism of Mswati III in Swaziland?

Coplan acknowledges that pre-colonial African state-builders did create highly organised polities suitable for their historical circumstances and technological resources. This heritage undoubtedly constitutes a legacy in which their descendents might justifiably take some pride. However, the most crucial qualities to be adopted from that independent era are close-knit forms of social relatedness, their moral and spiritual foundations, and their associated cultural practices.

In addition, Coplan (2002) says, existing albeit obscure and often denigrated African contributions to the knowledge base of improved human futures are also well worth valorisation and serious study. The most important observations by Coplan for the purposes of this thesis and the cultural practices, performances and productions of marginalised people is that if the post-apartheid dispensation did not provide universal economic advancement to the majority of dispossessed black people apart from a minority of black people, then the African Renaissance might still serve as an ideological weapon in the struggle to extend benefits and opportunities more broadly. Coplan (2002: 111-112) rather sarcastically concludes that valorisation of Africans' knowledge and modes of knowledge production might be the only option:

If in the end this is but a suggestion that if the poor are hungry, let them eat rhetoric, then at the very least distinctively African cultural practices - the only materials from which many can still construct a positive social self-image and experimental narrative - are publicly validated. Participating successfully in modernity? By now it should be clear to Africans and non-Africans alike that this can be facilitated only by integrating rather than opposing ideologies and practices of tradition and modernity. Otherwise the silenced past, as in the case of the European renaissance, inevitably exacts a terrible revenge.

The recuperation of ethnic cultural practices provide “an affirmative existential answer to the crucial question facing the students as well as the practitioners of resistance in marginalized communities: whether battles lost in economics and/or politics can be won in culture” (Coplan 2002: 113). The encouragement of cultural practices, especially the proliferation of cultural villages, and artistic expressions by ‘ethnic-based’ artists such as Silikat van Wyk and Vetkat Kruiper can be a vehicle of what Jurgen Habermas (2001) called “communicative competence”, which in essence is “the ability to, in an interpreting manner, search for a consensus about the value of people and their co-existence, about the kind of life

that is worth living and the nature and content of the symbolic forms which best express those values” (Coplan 2002: 113). The cultural diversity of South Africa naturally presents a complex exciting panorama of cultures. The cultural differences can be harnessed as cultural resources that help boost the tourism industry. In such a situation, the African Renaissance becomes what Jeffrey Sehume (1999) calls a necessary strategic essentialism, wherein the romance of the distant past, informed by an awareness of dispossession, leads to radical change that privileges an African discourse. This route to social power through cognitive reintegration is guided by a search for new post-apartheid black identities based in a conscious cultural moralism (Coplan 2002: 114).

The Bushmen and the Zulu at cultural tourism site-specific environments are far from mere tropes or icons of cultural tourism; they are for me real people whose conditions of life I know well, and whose livelihood is linked to tourism. They constrict their ethnicities for the tourists and very often for themselves, as they require this simulacrum to earn a living. They use the signs of antiquity to make their worlds in the postmodern era. In postcolonial South Africa professional Zulu and Bushmen self-performers are freely and continuously using both emotion and reason to construct and reinvent their subjectivities and their ‘worlds’ just as many other people are doing throughout the world. Cultural production within cultural tourism is increasingly a significant resource used by individuals and groups to “manipulate the mimetic faculty to meet various socio-cultural goals” (Stoller 2002: 228). People create and recreate ‘reality’ in order to grasp a modicum of control over their indeterminate transient worlds (Stoller 2002: 228; Taussig 1993).

Discursive Conclusions on Vetkat’s Art and ≠Khomani Crafts

Vetkat is able to apply iconic Bushmen motifs, archetypes and symbolism on a paper surface using different colour pens and pencils. He imbues these images with a modern touch in which the ‘spirit world’ normally associated with an ancient past are transposed to the contemporary. Spirits are juxtaposed to cassette radio players and there is nothing incongruous about the co-existence of these ‘objects’. Everything is synchronic, and normal. From an inclusive historic perspective, Vetkat’s art is testimony of “travelling” Bushman texts: moving from rock and orality, to canvas, paper, photography and digital video¹⁵⁹. Most important for me, is that Vetkat’s art, alongside the works by the Sîsen Craft, are a breath of

¹⁵⁹ My copies of Vetkat’s works are scanned and saved on my PC.

fresh air and a point of hope for the Kalahari where stories are often about distress and need. That Vetkat's works are displayed throughout the world and he can be emulated by younger Bushmen as a symbol of human potential and possibility is heartening. The #Khomani artists are literally travelling the southern African region, temporarily residing and performing at specific sites as 'contract' artists, and returning to the Kalahari. This has seen them moving from the Kalahari to Kagga Kamma near Cape Town, to OstriSan in the North West Province and to !Xaus Lodge in the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) (Dyll 2009; Isaacson 2001; Tomaselli 2005; White 1995). Even in the Kalahari individual #Khomani members are moving from one restituted farm to the next and it is not unusual to miss Dawid Kruiper at his Witdraai home and hear that he is at Welkom.

The notion of "travelling" text I raised above can be taken literally in that the #Khomani crafts and Vetkat's art are now in places other than the Kalahari. For Gibson Boloka (2001), arts and crafts are the means through which 'outsiders' communicate with their hosts' cultures well after the visitors have departed. Arts and crafts are a significant medium of symbolic exchange. Boloka (2001: 287) elaborates:

Culture also travels. Carrying these craft items home is not necessarily a benign activity. These communicative objects carry the history and culture of these crafts. This is evident when I arrived home. For me, they were decorative objects to occupy an empty space in the house. I was surprised to realize that as people entered the house, the following questions were asked about our new acquisitions: Where did you buy them? Where are the people? How do they live and communicate? What is the role of women in the community? Which languages do they speak, and so forth. By answering these questions, I was unwittingly telling the history and culture of the Bushmen....In the end, I was fascinated to see how culture travels and penetrates borders and new spaces. Though these new spaces twist their meaning and significance, their relationship with their places of origin will remain intact. The fact that these artifacts enter our homes is worth mentioning...By bringing them home we have further blurred the distinction between the Bushmen and our spaces.

This exposition by Boloka aptly sums my own experiences with friends, relatives and acquaintances in my home country Zimbabwe, where I have found people curious to know more about my excursions to the Kalahari and how the people there live. While Boloka sees positive inter-culturality in the discussions stimulated by collectibles in the collectors own "home", it is only honest that discussions are not always respectful because prejudices

remain. Ignorance and stigma remains in some sections of the Zimbabwean people I have met, with my own post-graduate students¹⁶⁰ originally sharing the view that Bushmen were 'extinct' despite the fact that Zimbabwe has its own specific populations of the Bushmen especially in the Zambezi Valley and Plumtree areas. Fellow researcher Vanessa McLennan-Dodd has also confessed the prejudices and bigotry originally shown by close family members and acquaintances on her return from the Kalahari. Showing ethnographic material or telling stories about other supposedly 'exotic' peoples has not been a guarantee that audiences will have a better, respectful, complex and sophisticated understanding of the producers of that material. Reception studies have shown that some students reinforced their negative stereotypes about "native" people after watching ethnographic films for their anthropology course (Martinez 1992; Ruby 2000; Schroeder 2003: 83).

Art critic Jean Fisher (2005), however, raises pertinent reservations about the way artists from marginalised former colonies are perceived in the arts industry in which the European markets, tastes and sensibilities dominate. She notes that for reasons of artistic and economic survival, black and non-European artists have had to promote their art through the use of the commodified signs and iconicity of ethnicity as required by the dominant tastes. Ironically, the greater the work's visibility in terms of racial or ethnic context or motifs the less it is able to speak as an individual (vs. "cultural") utterance. 'Western' art galleries and museums have increased the exhibition of works of culturally marginalised peoples, albeit using ethnic-based selectivity and representation. The works have to satisfactorily demonstrate "appropriate signs of cultural difference"; and this, at best, is to exocitise (Fisher 2005: 235). Fisher critiques the self-ascribed role of the 'western' art critics and collectors to frame and evaluate all cultural productions through their own criteria and stereotypes of otherness thus reducing art to a spectacle of essentialist racial or ethnic topology. In the process the art's individual insights and human values are glossed over or simply ignored - something that rarely happens to works of art emanating from European artists.

Fisher realises that there might actually be a 'glut' of art from marginalised people in 'prestigious' exhibitions. However, she summarises the fate:

¹⁶⁰ In 2005, I introduced a post-graduate Visual Anthropology module for students at the Midlands State University in Zimbabwe where I lecture. Students were suddenly compelled to critically think about the Bushmen, and along the way some of them confessed they presumed these people were extinct.

A rather perverse turn of thought is required that reconceptualises cultural marginality no longer as a problem of invisibility but one of an excessive visibility in terms of reading of cultural difference that is too readily marketable. This also relates to the tendency in colonial thought to equate what is visually verifiable with “truth”, where superficial (archetypical) characteristics reflect the inner truth of being. The fact that black and non-European artists are still “expected” to produce either “ethnic” or “political” art, whilst other positions are tacitly ignored, suggests that “visibility” alone has not been adequate to provide the conditions for an independent speaking subject (Fisher 2005: 235).

When marginalised artists acquiesce for whatever reasons to promote their works using tropes of ethnicity, they inevitably render themselves complicit with the western desire for the exotic other, against which it can measure its own cultural identity and status. The tragedy is that the exoticised artist is not judged a *creative* and *thinking* agent as he or she is, “but as a bearer of prescribed and homogenized cultural signs and meanings” (Fisher 2005: 235). For an artist to be described and accommodated purely on the basis of ethnicity might result in his or her exclusion from rigorous philosophical and historical debate. The work’s intellectual significance might be undermined leading to its exclusion from the global circuit of ideas where it rightfully belongs. However, the paradox lingers: how does a marginalised (African) artist create a place from which he or she can speak and be heard without compromising his/her life experience whatever it’s resource(s) (Fisher 2005: 235). Belinda’s insistence that Vetkat’s art is purely intuitive might unwittingly deny the artist to be accorded serious intellectual criticism and analysis as critics explore for superficial motifs and archetypes. It perpetuates the same stereotypes that she might want to dispel. In all the interviews I conducted with Belinda she reiterated the divine nature of Vetkat’s art, and it is not coincidental that the art is referred to as “Vetkat’s Sacred Collection” (Mlauzi 2002). The spiritualism ought not to obscure the acute intellect behind Vetkat’s creations, as I endeavoured to reveal in my critical appreciation of selected representative pieces from his estate. To have “a flare” for art, an “inborn” “instinctive” talent might appear romantic and mystical but it ironically shuts the doors and opportunities for serious aesthetic, historical and political cognitive discussions and engagements on larger related issues emanating from the art. Comparisons with emerging or established world art movements become far-fetched and irrelevant since it is forestalled by the mysticism and mythogenesis of the art. Discussion on style and execution of work might also be forestalled since the origin or source of the art is some oblique/obscure inspiration, ‘trance’ or possession.

I do not totally reject such mystical sources of inspiration and creativity, but there are ways of elaborating on the style and methodology that places the initiative of the artist at the centre. As both an academic, poet and fiction writer I find that I am constantly grappling with form and stylistics, and am also cognisant of trends within my chosen genres of art. Vetkat's art's stylistic appeal is universal and the archetypes and motifs he uses makes one reminisce of other art traditions. For instance, a white American colleague at the Midlands State University, Carolyn Harford¹⁶¹, drew parallels between Vetkat's art and the paintings on Archaic era Greek vases (see Hoffman 1997)¹⁶².

Vetkat's art captures some of the pressing issues and sensibilities of our times such as moral ecology and universal respect for life and the spreading of the language of peace and love, which if we are not careful might be rendered invisible as critics look for comfortable ethnic tropes and iconicity alone. His vision shows universal humanism and respect for all life species and environment. These are not just thematic issues which are unique to Vetkat because even the #Xhomi politicians such as Petrus Vaalbooi show an intelligent awareness of the highest human values of our times. For instance, while applauding Nelson Mandela's humanism, Petrus could easily talk about the defence of the rights of endangered flora and fauna species. When I asked him what his vision for the future is Petrus (interview, 23 August 2006) answered philosophically:

I see the people can win but we must come together. We must sit on the big fire and pray and plead with the Lord for salvation. I see people happy when I speak the truth. My word is in the future, the community shall be developed and the land shall be developed. More of the people is trying to do the right thing. Nelson Mandela's words are forgive others, peace is another thing that should be in your heart. In ten or fifteen years any nation can come and see the development here...I've gone to Rwanda and helped the Pygmy. The white gorilla must also be protected and the tiger, save the animals. Listen very fast to the nature and decide. The constitution shall never help all the time. Respect God, the animals, the plants, say thank you

¹⁶¹ I need to acknowledge that it is Professor Carolyn Harford who first suggested to me a possible application of Carl Jung's concept of the "mandala" on Vetkat's painting catalogued here as Appendix 30.

¹⁶² See also websites on Ancient Greek Vases, for example, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pottery_of_ancient_Greece.

to the Lord. Take a plan that can hold from generation to generation like Mandela's plan. I go from Greenland to Geneva and they say Mandela is the world leader¹⁶³.

The brochures of the #Khomani Sisen crafts make an effort to reiterate that the extraction or acquisition of raw materials for their products does not threaten the environment in any way. The basic human values and environmental concerns of the #Khomani and the Zulu should be of importance and respected by all others. In a radical humanistic and truly liberating proclamation Fisher (2005: 235) says 'Western culture' should accept itself as a *parochialism* amongst many others in order for a genuine culture and spirit of universal multiculturalism to take root and prosper. The cultural performances of the Zulu and Bushmen should evoke perceptions that does not result in 'outsider-observers' denigrating or feeling intimidated, hostile or repulsed by the performative acts of the Zulu and Bushmen. 'Outsiders' should empathize with the best intentions, memories and ambitions of the Zulu and Bushmen as they avail themselves to the other through symbolic representation. The "humanism" of the Other's cultural commodities (see Minh-Ha 2005: 264), and the intrinsic humanism of the Other's very self as both individual or group should be lauded for harmonious living and acceptance of difference. In the same vein, the Zulu and Bushmen and any other formerly marginalised peoples should also be in a position to empathise with the best qualities of the so-called 'foreigners', 'outsiders' or 'Western Same'.

Most of Vetkat's paintings were produced when husband and wife were literally starving at the rented Blinkwater sanddune (Bregin & Kruiper 2004). Belinda had learnt the Bushman trick of tying a cloth round one's stomach to stop the gnawing hunger, but Vetkat escaped into his art. The intense but epiphanic outpourings might surely be a shamanistic way of coping with the brutal exigencies of reality when there is no food on the table; he survives by replenishing his spirit and soul, populating his imagination with teeming cerebral life.

Interactions beyond the physical home boundaries

Since I am preoccupied with the performative behaviour of Zulu and Bushmen engaging in cultural tourism and located at specific cultural sites, it is logical that I placed emphasis on

¹⁶³ Here is a very complex and sophisticated global citizen from the Kalahari, concerned about his immediate circumstances as well as those of the larger universe. When I interviewed Petrus he was dressed in a casual trousers, a shirt and a slightly worn out leather jacket. I have seen a picture of him demonstrating and carrying a placard, wearing a modern shirt made of cloth, but he also had an animal skin band tied around his brow.

the study of the contemporary reproduction and reinvention of certain archetypical or 'essentialist' or stereotypical icons or narratives. The symbolic value invested in performances and narratives preserved and reinvented myths and stereotypes. These myths and stereotypes are now used not essentially in a denigrating way, but as ways of encountering each other and establishing conviviality and genial cultural difference. Acquaintances and even friendships arising from the initial templates of 'essentialism' have developed between Zulu and Bushmen cultural artists and their erstwhile visitors.

Work in local cultural tourism provides the opportunity to visit other places either as a self-performer, or just as a casual visitor of those you once encountered in your own territory. Vetkat and Belinda have been to the United Kingdom because of Vetkat's art. Susanna Witbooi the #Khomani crafts maker went to Frankfurt and she enjoyed the air flight very much; she told me she did not sleep because she wanted to see everything. From Simunye the youthful guides Soka Mthembu and Patrick Phakathi travelled through German, Austria and Italy for two weeks in 2003 sponsored by American friends they had met earlier at Simunye. The trip was wonderful and unique, according to Soka, "but it was very cold", he said (personal communication, 7 December 2003). Opportunities to transcend physical boundaries and to create and recreate friendships in other spaces are afforded by the cultural tourism experiences, hence it is not only that the Zulu and Bushmen should be fixed immovably in their local spaces and not visit others elsewhere.

Paradoxes of modernity and remembering the past

It is important to acknowledge that our society is in the midst of a fundamental rupture with the past, which involves loss as well as gain (Stille 2002: xi). The narrative, performative and visual claims and assertions about 'traditional' Zuluness or Bushmanness pose direct questions such as what does it mean to have a living relationship with the past? And what happens if some of those links are broken, or are transforming, or are redefined? Stille (2002: xiv) does summarise the contemporary ambiguities interestingly as follows:

As we hurtle into the information age – where it appears more urgent to master software programs than to learn ancient or foreign languages – it is legitimate to wonder what relationship we will have to the ancient world... The internet gives us the potential of instant access to infinite amounts of information, but there is also a genuine risk of our becoming a society with little historical framework in which to set all the information we have access

to...Globalisation may well raise the standard of living and introduce democratic reforms to countries around the world, but it is also bringing about an unprecedented homogenization of culture and will almost certainly accelerate the disappearance of thousands of regional dialects, languages, and distinct cultures. Paradoxically, the rootlessness of contemporary society has created a tremendous yearning for a connection with ancient or vanished civilizations.

The performative acts predicated on some glorified traditional past when culture was untainted by modernity and 'Western' influences might as well be an exhibition of that quest to reconnect with a 'certain' past in the uncertain exigencies of the present and the future. Through play, as through other means such as retreat into the wilderness, we get a glimpse of the 'other' possible life of 'ease' in a seemingly hectic and demanding over-mediatised postmodern environment.

Much as Shakaland markets itself as a film set, and so escapes the rigorous scrutiny of whether it is adequately 'documentary' or 'ethnographic' as to represent actuality, it still invites serious 'ethnographic treatment' from scholars because of its much more detailed presentations of Zulu traditional life as compared to its competitors. The investment of anthropological knowledge by the founders makes the site much more intriguing and a ready object of such academic approach. The ability to invest ideas gleaned from scholarship makes the experiences at Shakaland 'authentic' in their representation of an imagined nineteenth or early twentieth century Zulu life practice. The Shakaland experience, and also partly that at Lesedi where white visitors have married and wedded Zulu-style, shows the liminality between serious ethnographic detail and leisure (entertainment) requirements. Seriousness and playfulness are put in context and the choice is the visitors to adopt what mood they want.

Bushmen anxieties, Zulu confidence and the Cultural spectacle

The Bushmen presentation at OstriSan left a lot to be desired as was testified in our visiting group's post-tour discussion. There were a number of issues that were of particular concern. Firstly, the spectral presentation lacked confidence and vigour as compared to all the shows we saw at the Zulu villages. Even ≠Khomani at roadside stalls in the Northern Cape, in spite of occasional scenes of unruly drunkenness, exuded more confidence than the people at OstriSan. We could only speculate on the possible reasons for the timidity and self-

effacement. The one view, interestingly was that the presence of an African (black) man's gaze unsettled the Bushman cast. However, in our research group's post-tour discussion other possible reasons for the anxiety and discomfort exhibited by the OstriSan Bushmen were proffered.

To begin with, at the time of our visit, the OstriSan tourism venture had just been recently started. There could have been a sense of insecurity among the cast as they adjusted to their new environment. The ≠Khomani had been transported to an alien environment where they probably suffered more nervousness and anxiety than in familiar territories such as the Northern Cape and Kagga Kamma where an 'older' colleague of my research team reported self assertion and outright hooliganism and bullying as some of the characteristics of the Bushmen they met self-performing (Von Stauss 2000). Much as our research critiques have noted ≠Khomani 'nomadism' as something symbolic and intrinsic to Bushmen since time immemorial, the particular Bushmen's presence and experiences at OstriSan could have been unnerving. A deeper psychological analysis of the individual cast members' state of mind on the day based on their memories could probably shed more light on what transpired.

The insecurity could also have been acutely felt around the time we arrived because the owner Andre Coetzee told us that he was unhappy about the last time the Bushmen were paid their wages following which they treated his other farm workers to a drinking spree, becoming unable to recover in time for the usual schedule of work. He surely reprimanded the Bushmen since his other businesses provided more income and financial security than the relatively new ethnographic show business.

Another possible reason for the timidity could be attributed to the personality of project manager Danie Jacobs. In my view, and interestingly those shared by most members of my group during the post-tour discussion, Danie acted like a patriarch and induced dependence in the Bushmen. At the time I criticised the fact that when the Bushmen children were taunted and harassed at the local school, they decided to withdraw them. Danie did not let the ≠Khomani adults confront school authorities and submit their complaints like responsible adults¹⁶⁴. Danie acted the 'romantic' patriarch and saviour who really believed he was saving the remnants of a special group of people. He was at the time a part time anthropology

¹⁶⁴ Amongst the adults present at the time of our visit was Isak Kruiper, Rosa and Abraham Meinjties.

student with UNISA and he still had some romantic sentiments about contemporary Bushmen, especially the ≠Khomani group that he had worked with previously at Kagga Kamma.

≠Khomani cultural performers are prone to bitterly complain about exploitation and the appropriation of their knowledge and cultural memory; hence they have commodified most interactions since they insist “talk is work” that must be paid for (Tomaselli 2005). The complaints I heard from Silikat van Wyk are not unusual, and even the organic intellectual Belinda has chided NGOs, filmmakers and development workers for cashing in on the Bushmen yet the people remain in abject poverty (Bregin & Kruiper 2004). Class and ideological tensions are at their sharpest in the Kalahari, as has been demonstrated by Tomaselli in his writings (Tomaselli 2005; 2007). Much as binaries are imploding, the discursive articulations of people in the cultural tourism industry might disclose the ‘real’ ideological conflicts that persist. For instance, the cultural worker Silikat is discontent with the relations with his former ‘employer’ at OstriSan. He complains of exploitation. The same applies with some of the workers at Simunye, notwithstanding that the situation was much more delicate and tactful there. Although some Zulu cultural workers had work-related grievances, they were reluctant to divulge these to just anyone. Perhaps this is a sign of “maturity” and adeptness to cope with labour relations on their part; a strategic technique which seems to have borne fruits since recent developments at Simunye show the workers and community have been empowered. According to Soka Mthembu (email, 14 August 2008) Simunye has since been transformed to a community project.

The Bushmen might appear to some outsiders as a pathetic case except when their works are closely looked at and appreciated. If incidences about roadside artists meeting their visitors drunk and frustrating tourists are taken in isolation, one might condemn the entire Bushmen communities in the Kalahari as a despondent lot. However, the works of Vetkat defies such easy conclusions because he persevered in spite of hunger and illness. He tried to live a dignified ‘alcohol-free’ life at his ‘art-colony’ at Blinkwater. The craft makers at Sisen are not as disruptive and have a good idea about customer care. However, the problems of underdevelopment still persists and it will be a while before people like old Griet (the old lady at Welkom) and her husband stop complaining that NGOs come and pretend to talk on their behalf yet the quality of their lives never improves. Kalahari poverty and despondence

has been amply recorded over the years (Robins 2001; Wilmsen 1989), but there is a need to start tracing stories of optimism and hope such as Vetkat's.

At the Zulu cultural villages, the interactive script which encourages touring visitors to say certain things in the vernacular language, to behave in particular ways as a sign of respect made the experiences less of a visual spectacle. One could not just stand and look from a distance all the time since in approaching a village, for instance, you could be asked to hail the homestead owners, or on embarking on the tour you are asked to seek divine guidance through picking a stone, spitting on it and casting it on a cairn.

Shakaland and Lesedi have the same type of 'vibe' and exuberance because they are more populated by the strategically placed 'cast' members. They appear very much alive and active as if life goes on like that even in the absence of the visitors. Simunye and PheZulu are a bit laid back although they presented energised dance routines and dramatic vignettes of Zulu traditions. The immediate reason is that the ventures are capital intensive, but it is also about the skills of the cast and scheduling that makes visitors arrive at much the same time to constitute a substantial group.

By virtue of Shakaland being a film-set prop, it is a hyperreal environment which oscillates between claims to make-belief and a perceived Zuluness. It challenges visitors to reimagine the past, and to use their understanding to inform their comprehension of the present. In the geniality of the place visitors get a reassurance that the Zulu are not essentially martial and fearsome, but can be welcoming and sociable (Hamilton 1998; Marshall 2003). In fact, Carolyn Hamilton (1998: 199) finds in Shakaland the capacity to play "the role of an agent of redemption and healing" in the post apartheid dispensation, as both the Zulu and non-Zulu encounter each other over a 'museum' space.

Exhibitions are arenas in which particular definitions of identity and culture are asserted.

Shakaland (offers) an exploration of Zulu culture for people of other cultures, for modern, urban Zulu speakers interested in the past, and for Zulu traditionalists. It thus (works) to define a Zulu identity as well as identities that themselves gain in definition through the defining of "Zulu". The definitions enacted in Shakaland potentially assisted both Zulu speakers and non-Zulu speakers to legitimize themselves in a new way (Hamilton 1998: 200).

While demonstrations of military prowess were exhibited at all villages visited, “Zulu-ness” was not threatening, but was something that could be visited and assimilated. I, however, have my collective unconscious hangover and ‘repulsion’ towards the boasts about the martial prowess because my Shona ‘ethnic’ group historically has had vicious altercations with people of Nguni descent (the Ndebele people who have a close history, language and similar cultural traits to the Zulu). The hospitality extended to us in both commercial cultural villages and at conventional homesteads in the Inanda area was just endearing, even though there were variations of the visual representations of Zulu-ness in terms of regalia and stories told. At the conventional villages, the ethnographic detail was not as elaborate as was found at any of the cultural villages where scripts were much more ‘formal’ and ‘structured’ unlike the ‘spontaneous everydayness’ that the villagers revealed to us.

Re-membering Bushmen and Zulu in and outside ethnographic visuals

We ought to consciously and strategically remember Bushmen and Zulu without forgetting that they are our contemporaries. They both represent the history of marginalisation and assertiveness in their different ways. The Bushmen have been variously imaged and imagined as the rebels, “killers of strangers”, then as harmless vanishing people (Marshall Thomas 1958; Szalay 1998). We have to recognise those who are there so that we remember these people represent the worst possible dehumanisation and denial to a single group of the human species. They have been called innumerable names and have been perceived as subhuman. Much as the Bushmen are believed to be the most ancient genetic material (Hennigan 2007; Bone 2009)¹⁶⁵, they are also a trope of human resistance, perseverance and survival and are not only the glamorous First People who remind all other South African groups that they are all Johnny- come-latelies who simply need to rethink history and indigeneity and predicate it on tolerance and mutual co-existence in order to remain logical and rational even when trying to use historical capital to one’s own advantage. They might remind us to be careful not to foster the syndrome of dependence and victimhood which is self-crippling and only creates a parasitic citizen, especially one who uses history to make the rest of the world compensate throughout every moment of encounter or existence. Performances by Bushmen artists and the exhibition of their artefacts, art and crafts remind me of the need for tolerance, especially

¹⁶⁵ Both media sources cited a *National Geographic* source for the information on Bushmen genes.

that I come from a troubled country where there is state induced racial intolerance (Lutz & Lutz 2004).

The Zulu are equally important to consider. They are a formidable nation, well organised enough to have fought and beaten the British in what Africanists idealistically think was an anti-colonial war of self determination. They represent organised valour and courage, the empire that Africanists appropriate as an example of past African 'glory', and have the ability to mould large scale social systems and sophisticated culture. Yet, in remembering I cannot forget that 'Zuluness' has been appropriated and unleashed on imagined non-Zulu black peoples. The May 2008 wave of xenophobia partly unleashed by so-called 'Zulu' militias in the towns of South Africa is a case in point¹⁶⁶. The terrific image of Zuluness might attract tourists to cultural villages, but when the 'performative' acts are existentially transposed into the streets of South Africa it can only frighten off prospective tourists. That kind of 'Zuluness' is far from the hospitable Zuluness exhibited at cultural villages, and the latter might be a victim of the former if the dastard attacks are not checked. It threatens the mutual co-existence of different peoples required in contemporary multicultural communities¹⁶⁷. The problem of black on black violence and how 'the Zulu' were continuously implicated in the malaise ought not to be forgotten. Elitism and black racism predicated on the supposed or imagined glory of the past needs regulation.

Cultural Studies and the question of pedagogy

The Culture, Communication and Media Studies Department (CCMS) is situated in the Higher Education system within a dominant neoliberal environment. It has long since been

¹⁶⁶ An article on xenophobia in *Spark: Class struggle magazine* issue 59 August-September 2008 attempts to make links between the so-called 'Third Force', Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Zulu militias, especially disgruntled Zulu youths who have been replaced in hostel occupancy and employment by Mozambican and other foreign labour forces (see <http://www.the-spark.net/csart593.html> or <http://www.union-communiste.org/?RU-archp-show-2008-6-1014-4660-x.html>). The link is tenuous and difficult to establish, probably speculative too given that attacks also took place in places such as the Western Cape where there are few Zulu. Whilst in KwaZulu-Natal vicious attacks were recorded in Durban, and the 'test language' used as a basis of identifying victims was Zulu and the 'proper' inflection or pronunciation of specific words, it is interesting that in the traditional 'heartland' of Zululand such as Eshowe, Freiheid and Pongolo no attacks happened despite the presence of foreigners.

¹⁶⁷ All South Africans ought to be wary of the delicate nature of all forms of tourism where a simple issuance of a warning about the insecurity of a destination might lead to a slump in tourist arrivals. A poignant issue at the moment is the ability and will of the South African state to terminate violent crime and robberies which quite often target tourists.

observed that neoliberalism is more than an economic theory, but that it constitutes the conditions for a radically refigured cultural politics (Giroux 2004). The neoliberal agenda is implicated in the crippling of the public service and social welfare as the logic of the market undermines social benefits and solidarity. The weakened nation-state with nothing to offer the citizenry thus relies on repressive power although it also has capacity to maintain a degree of ideological hegemony over the 'multitude', that is the poor, youths, and the marginalised (Giroux 2004; Wallerstein 1999). The nature of education in the neoliberal system is centred on the principle that a few governing wealthy people communicate with and teach their views to the majority (Williams 1967: 15).

The pedagogy of neoliberalism is not confined to formal institutions, but takes place in a range of other spheres such as advertising, television, film, the Internet, video games, the popular press, and visual cultural performances of all kinds. This is the 'pervasive' public pedagogy Raymond Williams (1967) aptly called "permanent education", partly because it is not confined to conscious social spaces alone. In "permanent education" dominant sites of pedagogy engage in diverse forms of pedagogical address to put into play a limited range of identities, ideologies, and subject positions that both reinforce neoliberal social relations and undermine the capacity for democratic politics (see Giroux 2004: 107). In view of these wide ranging sites of education, I consider cultural tourism as another site of cultural education or "permanent education" that needs to be reclaimed by a critical, committed Cultural Studies (Giroux 2004; Gramsci 1971; Williams 1967). In advocating for a committed Cultural Studies Raymond Williams (1967; 15-16) wrote:

What [permanent education] valuably stresses is the educational force of our whole social and cultural experience. It is therefore concerned, not only with continuing education, of a formal or informal kind, but with what the whole environment, its institutions and relationships, actively and profoundly teaches... [It is also] the field in which our ideas of the world, of ourselves and of our possibilities, are most widely and most powerfully formed and disseminated. To work for the recovery of control in this field is then, under any pressures, a priority.

The Cultural Studies that is required in Southern Africa is an activist Cultural Studies that inculcates tolerance of racial and ethnic differences, amongst many other differences, and encourages cultural parity in diversity (Rajchman 2005). The support of difference and

diversity should not however compromise specific individuals' or ethnic groups' access to economic opportunities. Cultural Studies have historically focused on the quality of lives of marginalised communities and tried to present a project of liberation (Shepperson & Tomaselli 2004). However, leading CCMS scholars Arnold Shepperson and Tomaselli (2004: 257-268) argue that Cultural Studies is now a liberal agenda and project devoid of its original liberatory purpose. They contend that Cultural Studies has, since the last decade, abandoned its concerns with power relations and democratization, and has increasingly repositioned this once dialectical and ethically driven transdisciplinary research engagement into prime concern with elegant writing and the dot com contents of undergraduate syllabi (Shepperson and Tomaselli 2004: 257-268). In short, it is Cultural Studies for its own sake. It is trivialised and the issues it deals with are frivolous, thus diversionary for the sole neo-liberal intention of perpetuating dominant relations that 'rewards' a powerful minority over the majority. This makes Cultural Studies a project without purposive transformative ideology or political agency, but a sterile liberal agenda that sustains projects of inequity and domination. Hence, Cultural Studies is itself in crisis and troubled by identity and the praxis of discipline, especially in Southern Africa where the poignant anticolonial and antiracism struggles were finally resolved institutionally, and newer identity struggles are striving to manifest themselves. Within postcoloniality, identity issues are less simple, complex and much more difficult as 'foes' or 'enemies' are relatively difficult to identify. Hence, with uncertainties all around, the changes that Cultural Studies currently champions are less radical and reassuring to capitalist hegemony. Nonetheless, proponents of capitalism in the guise of radicalism will still pay lip-service to the critical approaches of the project as a way of salving their consciences (Shepperson & Tomaselli 2004). Their engagements or encounters with people are shallow, bookish, uncommitted, constrained and peripheral, usually openly courteous and respectful but inwardly at best condescending and judgemental, and at worst revolted. This explains the inaccessible (especially to the research subject communities) jargon and stiff description of their subjects when presenting results and findings in exclusive journals, books and at conferences (Tomaselli *et al* 2005). This is done in spite of claims to making 'real', 'concrete' 'thick descriptions' of communities (Geertz 1973; Gray 2003).

Cultural Studies' quest is to present what is "true" and what is "good" (Wallerstein 1999: 187). Shepperson and Tomaselli (2004: 263) argue that the notions of interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinarity espoused by contemporary Cultural Studies ought not to become licenses for condoning intellectual *indiscipline*. This can only be insured

through reverting to the basically moral project of inquiry into injustice found in social groups and societies under investigation. The moral or normative project is important in inquiries that seek to find any type of truth. According to Immanuel Wallerstein (1999:187), a feature of today's world of knowledge is the extrapolation of two kinds of things: what is true and what is good. Traditional empirical studies are criticised for focusing on the former and scorning the normative issues pertaining to "good" and "justice", claiming it was more important to know what is "true", and conversely nearly impossible to know what is good. Cultural Studies emerged to critique the traditional social sciences that were obsessed with quantification, and a search for "truth" and "objectivity" at the expense of human values of "good", and "justice" which are not noticeably "measurable". Hence Wallerstein (1999: 189) explains the role and place of Cultural Studies in this scenario:

Cultural Studies attack(s) universalism primarily on the grounds that the assertions about social reality that were made in its name were not in fact universal. It represented an attack against the views of the dominant strata in the world-system that generalized their realities into universal human realities and thereby "forgot" whole segments of humanity, not only in the substantive statements but in the very epistemology of their research. At the same time, cultural studies represent(s) an attack on the traditional mode of humanistic scholarship, which had asserted universal values in the realism of the good and the beautiful (the so-called canons) and analyzed texts internally as incarnating these universal appreciations. Cultural studies insists that texts are social phenomena, created in a certain context and read and appreciated in certain context.

In light of these observations, I have tried to place my subject communities at the centre of my study, and give individuals character and colour, rather than present them as anonymous numerical data. This was possible with an employment of a multidisciplinary approach that, however, pays homage to Cultural Studies as a discipline and CCMS as a global institution. Jürgen Habermas (1970: 1-2) has written about the crucial roles played by tertiary education institutions, the most significant being the production, reproduction and transmission of technically exploitable knowledge needed by contemporary society. Research conducted at universities is channelled into industrial utilisation, armament and social welfare. Advisory knowledge produced by universities is also channelled into strategies of administration, government, and other decision-making powers, such as private enterprises. Universities also ensure that their graduates are equipped, no matter how indirectly, with attributes and attitudes (code of ethical practice) relevant to the pursuit of a professional career that might

not per se dialectically relate to their professional knowledge and skills. A major responsibility of universities which Habermas specifies, and which makes my exertions in Cultural Studies worthwhile, is their task of transmitting, interpreting and developing the cultural tradition of the society.

The influence of interpretations provided by the social sciences and humanities (the so-called “hermeneutic sciences”) on the self-understanding of the general public cannot be underestimated (Habermas 1970: 2). A knowledge and understanding of the history of the Bushman peoples, the marginalisation and the myths (both denigrating and degrading or romantic and ennobling) associated with them is important for society to understand and appreciate peoples living and claiming semblances of Bushmanness and Zuluness. My study thus provides some demystifying insights into aspects of the contemporary performative visual cultures of the Bushmen and Zulu of South Africa. Again, the political consciousness arising from the hermeneutic sciences is notable, especially the inculcation of political attitudes of tolerance of differences and promotion of cultural and economic equity. This is because the human being is always in a state of incompleteness, and strives to become better with loftier ideals (Freire 1996; Habermas 1970). Again, Habermas (1970:2-3) aptly puts it, “Today the hermeneutic sciences, no matter how positivistically disciplined in their methods, cannot in studying active traditions completely escape the constraint of either continuously reproducing them, or developing them or critically transforming them”. I have tried to understand the Bushmen and the Zulu visual performative cultures from an empathetic and humanistic perspective that allows for cultural difference, diversity and preferences. In short, I try to respect co-existence of different global cultures.

Theoreticism: Cultural Studies critiques

The value of anthropology and other disciplinary approaches to Cultural Studies are clear in my research. More and more scholars are divulging their hostility to theoreticism (Tomaselli 2001b: 291; Stanton 1996: 2000), and there is less and less relevance of solely academy-based learning which lacks comprehensive empirical studies. The fieldwork is testimony of Cultural Studies’ move out there to where it ‘dirties’ itself. I have tried to put as much detail as possible in the research observation and findings, a trend which is usually scowled on in the dominant European and American academic circles, especially if work concerns African subject matter (Tomaselli 2001b; 294).

I also do not pretend to explain everything, especially the unexplainable. The spiritual and the mysterious (the noumenal) might be a ‘reality’ in its occurrence, but it is difficult if not outright impossible to logically theorise: Tomaselli long ago discovered this and it has been a reason for his fascination with locating himself as a scholar within an African context. Does spitting on a stone and casting it on a mound ensure a good journey and passage in life as some Zulu would tell us? Does the sighting of scorpions bring rain; what do snakes portend in real life, including in my own life? The place of the supernatural and the unexplainable in Cultural Studies needs to be ‘theorised’ more sensitively and understandingly since the paranormal is a feature of most fieldwork enquiries and the accompanying narratives from informants (Tomaselli 1996; 2001b; 2005; Young 1995).

Originally, Cultural Studies snubbed studies on essentialism and mistrusted notions about (mystic) religiosity and cosmologies that transgress materialism (Shepperson & Tomaselli 2004: 262). They, however, have taken a radical turn and given focus to scholarship emanating from many marginalised and dominant groups in all worlds. Both natural and magical thought is now afforded opportunity for intellectual critical critique. Cultural Studies is also at the forefront of studying how well-meaning civil society institutions encourage marginalised Third and Fourth World societies to reconstitute themselves on the basis of romanticised essentialism constructed on covertly radicalised constructions of the Other (Shepperson & Tomaselli 2004: 262). The South African San Institute (SASI), for example, tries to blend notions about the past with modernity and unique traits of individual Busmen ethnic communities in a quest to promote ‘difference’. Theory now emanates from the empirical study (also referred to as “grounded theory”), instead of vice versa. The vagaries of adopting pre-formulated theories come from a lack of creativity, theoretical burden and weariness; hence John Rajchman (2005: 393) advocates that we create for ourselves the room and the time to think and ask again “what is theory?” He thus advises scholars to become “experimentors” or “attempters” with theory. He further argues:

(W)e must become, more “empirical” – that is, we must stop theorizing. What Pierce called “experimental spirit” in philosophy was not so much a method as a precept: *not* to start from Cartesian certainty or abstract postulates. In this respect, it is akin to Wittgenstein’s cry: “Don’t think, look!” Today we need to stop “thinking” so as to start again to see what we can’t yet describe since we think too much. We need an art of description, precise critical description, of what is happening to us. But that art must itself become experimental: an art of

“indefinite description” where the “real” is not an already given object, but the point of a gathering cluster of descriptions opening onto the unknown. We need to find that point where the “real” and the imagination of other possibilities are linked to one another, as when Proust says the true dreamer is the one who tries to go out and verify something (Rajchman 2005: 393).

The dominant theoretical approach is therefore the “indefinite description” of the “out there” - the actual empirical realities as experienced on the fields of research by researchers who encounter real life subjects. In this work, however, these descriptions are mine as experienced by me, and I therefore put them into context, history and focus. I also try as much as possible to “*informe* without conclusion”, that is, at least without making grand conclusions (Krauss 2005: 395).

I have also constantly used the phaneroscopic table (Tomaselli 1996), sublimating its technical application in order to allow my own emotional interpretants (firstness: being-there, the nature of the encounter) to permit the central idea (Bushmanness/Zuluness) to emerge in relation to my own subjectivity (as a researcher, Zimbabwean, black, male and Zimbabwean, my identity in the face of the other). Even as a Cultural Studies scholar, I am in the business of Science/Logic (Badiou 2005; Wallerstein 1999). I am obliged therefore to make my research intelligible and reflexive by offering explanation - that which would be considered to be true via the final immediate interpretant (thirdness). The phaneroscopic table was applied in an attempt to disaggregate perceptions - theirs and mine - and to analyse my own practice (ethics, doing) as I negotiated my way towards some kind of explanation on the nature of my encounters.

The “truth” and “validity” of my study and methodology is not fixated with traditional natural and social sciences insistence on such notions. Since my methodology is rooted in Cultural Studies and its hermeneutic inclinations, I readily accept the perception that methodological truth is attained through the skilled and prudent practice of understanding and interpretation. According to Habermas (2001:21), hermeneutics as an activity is at best an art but never a method; as far as science is concerned, hermeneutics is a subversive force that undermines all systematic approaches. What is real, however, is that I have participated in and observed phenomena and context-dependent symbolic expressions. Again, Habermas has adroitly captured the problematic of all research and interpretation, including participant performative

research. These are problems, subjectivities and even ‘prejudices’ that I hold as a particular researcher with a specific background and socialisation. Habermas (2001: 27-28) enunciates the basis of these associated problems:

The difficulties are derived from the fact that what has been understood in the performative attitude has to be translated into what can be established from a third-person point of view. The performative attitude necessary for interpretation permits regular shifts between the first-, second-, and third-person attitudes, but for purposes of measurement the performative attitude must be subordinated to a single attitude, namely the objectivating attitude. A further problem is that value judgements creep into fact-stating discourse. These difficulties arise because the theoretical framework for an empirical analysis of everyday behaviour has to be conceptually integrated with the frame of reference within which participants themselves interpret their everyday lives. Participants’ interpretation, however, are connected with both cognitive and noncognitive claims to validity, whereas theoretical statements (propositions) refer only to truth. For this reason (some social scientists) have argued convincingly against the possibility of value-neutral languages in the interpretive social sciences.

Inevitably, the form and style of writing came into focus, and I opted for a reflexive performative writing style. Texts are produced through different modes of writing, and these ought not be ‘accidental’ for the reflexive writer, since knowledge of style and form and its purposes is essential (Gray 2003: 176). I have tried to theorise my writing style within the CCMS and global ethnographic traditions. However, to emphasise on the consciousness of ethnographic writing style, I quote Paul Atkinson (1990:180), who gives advice to ‘sociologists’:

The fully mature ethnographic requires a reflexive awareness of its own writing, the possibilities and limits of its own language, and a principled explorations of his modes of representation. Not only do we need to cultivate a self-conscious construction of ethnographic texts, but also a readiness to read texts from a more ‘literary critical’ perspective. Sociologists and their students must cultivate the discipline of reading their own and others’ arguments for their stylistic and rhetorical properties.

The opportunities granted to me by my writing style permitted me to weave my own personal story and observations in and out of the ethnographic narrative of the Bushmen and the Zulu. In so doing I acquired fresh insight and empathy for the ‘Other’, at times *becoming* the same

with the Other. I understood better how ethnographic performances availed both opportunities and limitations to Zulu semi-literate performers operating on the margins of the global neo-liberal markets. Cultural performances are an opportunity for displaying one's ethnic pride and a way of claiming identity. Jobs emanating from the performative acts are supposed to offer sources of livelihood. However, the uncertainty of the cultural tourism market - just like the financial crisis of 2008 has shown that any neo-liberal project is unpredictable - demands that cultural performers and artists (especially South African cultural workers) to always be prepared for any down-turn of business due to circumstances beyond them. My being a Zimbabwean makes me both admire the prospects of income generated from tourism for specific peoples, whilst at the same time I am piqued by the structural weaknesses that exist in the global tourism relations in which developing countries and the subjects meant to benefit from cultural tourism, or tourism of any type, are vulnerable to the whims, idiosyncrasies and outright political manoeuvring of the powerful nations who most often 'export' citizens with expendable capital.

A call for sanctions or a warning that a particular destination is unsafe can be the nemesis for an entire project under which many families in the periphery would have depended for their sustenance. Cases in point are Zimbabwe as a pariah state after Britain, the US and the European Union (EU) put specified sanctions and discouraged their citizens from visiting an "unsafe" destination in the wake of the chaotic land reform programme that saw land wrest from white farmers (Lutz & Lutz 2004). When East Africa was classified an "unsafe destination" after a series of bomb blasts in the region blamed on Islamic fundamentalist terror groups, warnings resulted in a sharp drop in tourist arrivals which had a very negative impact on the economy¹⁶⁸. Kenya, a regular target of international terrorism, has complained that it has been punished by Western countries (despite being an ally in the Global War On

¹⁶⁸ The Islamic organisation Al Qaeda led by Osama Bin Laden is accused of having been responsible for the bomb attacks in 1998 on the US Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya and Dares- Salaam, Tanzania, which resulted in the deaths of over 200 people and the wounding of thousands, most of them nationals of these countries. Speculation is also made that in the same year the French Embassy in Nairobi was also considered as a target (Jacquard 2002: 74). The network was also implicated in the bombings that targeted Israel tourists outside a Mombasa hotel, and the attacks at Bali in 2002 (Lutz & Lutz 2004: 83). As I revise my draft chapter in the early hours of Thursday 27 November 2008 there is "Breaking News" on Microsoft/National Broadcasting Company (MSNBC) and France24 that there has been a string of coordinated attacks on the rail stations, restaurants, hotels and hospitals in the Indian tourist city of Mumbai. The live reports are nearly all unanimous that the surprise attacks were being launched by an Islamist group probably linked to Al Qaeda. There are running battles between the terrorists and the security forces, and the city's Chief of Police has been killed. Again reports are nearly all unanimous that the attacks are targeted at 'Westerners', especially Americans, since the places that were targeted are frequented by wealthy foreigners, expatriates and affluent locals. The forthcoming 'Western' Thanksgiving Day celebrated by so-called Westerners is cited as possibly a reason for the well coordinated attack in which there would be an expected upsurge of tourist arrivals.

Terror) whenever travel alerts and bans are issued in response to intelligence reports showing imminent terrorist attacks¹⁶⁹.

My country has been classified a terrorist state, and tourism has been virtually destroyed as an industry. The cultural virtues of the Shona and the Ndebele, or the legendary Shona stone sculptors who attracted many foreign buyers and book publications have nearly fizzled out. While I believe in equitable land reform I write the concluding chapter feeling a sense of despondence. All systems have collapsed. Much as there is an internal factor in the form of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) dictatorship, the interests of international capital in exacerbating the human conditions cannot be ignored. The interests of international capital will always have direct effects on the health and stability of local tourism industries. For instances, the 2008 financial crisis has already seen testimonies of adverse effects in marginal tourism markets.¹⁷⁰ The security concerns about South Africa and the incidences of xenophobia will not augur well for the future of the cultural tourism industry, given that even as “an ally” of the major capitalist countries, warning issues might still be made detrimental to the industry.

Conclusion

Tourism has had a magnificent effect on the boosting of arts and craft production amongst the Zulu and the Bushmen. Arts, crafts and artifacts attributable to these people are found proliferating in all South African tourist resorts, and in both exclusive and ordinary local and

¹⁶⁹ In May 2003, the US and Britain placed a ‘non-essential travel ban’ on Kenya after intelligence sources had picked up information about an ‘imminent threat’ on a British-registered aircraft. British Airways promptly suspended its flights to Kenya for almost a month while Germany, France, Belgium, Hungary and Australia also imposed bans on Kenya. These bans had devastating impacts on the country, as we shall see later. When the US issued a travel warning to Kenya on 6 February 2007, the government of Mwai Kibaki cried foul and accused the US of sabotaging the World Cross-Country Championships that were to take place on 24 March in the port city of Mombasa. Kenya was the second African country to host this athletics event, rated as the third most important in the world. Kenya had not only lobbied heavily to host the athletics event but also pumped millions of dollars into organising it. Besides showcasing its world-class elite athletes, Kenya also hoped to reap enormous economic benefits and free public relations as an attractive tourist destination. The US State Department’s travel warning simply reminded ‘American citizens to consider carefully the risks of travel to Kenya at the time due to ongoing safety and security concerns’. Among the safety concerns cited in the travel advisory were the ‘continuing terrorist threats’ and ‘terrorist acts’ near Mombasa and other Kenyan ports. American citizens were also warned to avoid Kenya due to ‘increasing incidents of violent crime’ such as ‘carjacking and home invasions/burglary’, which, according to the advisory, the ‘Kenyan authorities have limited capacity to deter and investigate’. American tourists were warned to stay away from tourist sites, locations, clubs, hotels, resorts, upmarket shopping centres, restaurants and recreational facilities. They were literally told to stay away from Kenya or, if they do go there, to lock themselves up in their hotel rooms and avoid mingling with Kenyans! (see Wachira 2004; Wafula 2008).

¹⁷⁰ There was a slump and cancellations in tourist bookings after the October 2008 Financial Crisis in the US.

international markets. It is remarkable that for a people such as the Bushmen who until recently were presented in popular media as extinct and only associated with prehistoric rock art, there is a proliferation and circulation in the markets of art and crafts emanating from people claiming Bushman descent or associations of various types. Performing for tourists, researchers, filmmakers and advertisers of commodities, and photographers and selling artifacts, art and handicrafts are some of the few employment opportunities available to some communities, especially those that were historically marginalised and where the levels of literacy are comparably lower (Tomaselli *et al* 2005: 25). It is ironic that both contemporary Zulu and Bushmen artists and performers in some ways exploit the popularity created by older myths and stereotypes associated with their respective groups, which they then reinvent, negotiate and capitalise on in ways beneficial to them. In the case of the Bushmen the myth of their extinction and the popularisation of coffee table books that locate Bushman art in antiquity and as a heritage to be preserved is well-chronicled. However, there is wide consensus across Southern Africa that Bushman artists never disappeared and they are still practising in their various individual communities within the new postcolonial nation-states (see Brink 1998). Bushman art is being reinvented by a new generation of artists who use popular memory, incorporate new influences and use new technologies and surfaces for their creativity (Tomaselli 2003: 61). Even critical appreciation, though not denying outright some perspectives of shamanistic interpretations to the contemporary arts and crafts, has experienced a widening of themes and concerns that address current day-to-day life practices including elements of modern militarism and consumerist culture.

For the ≠Khomani community of the Kalahari, tourism has had a significant impact in resuscitating arts and crafts. Besides working collectives that produce arts and crafts such as the Sisen Craft Projects there are individual artists that have produced considerable work worth of mention. Keyan Tomaselli notes that ≠Khomani artists like the late Riekie and Vetkat Kruiper and Silikat van Wyk, use small shale fragments, paper, material and ostrich eggs, amongst other surfaces, instead of painting or etching immovable and remote overhangs and caves, or works on large heavy rocks lugged to roadside stalls. Their preferred new surfaces are convenient for tourism and its habit of collectibles because these can be easily packed away by tourists in their suitcases and taken home for display alongside popular contemporary productions such as Van Gogh prints and mass-produced Picasso cubism (Tomaselli 2003: 61). Rather than establishing binaries about the ‘performative’ and ‘authentic’ Bushmen, or their re-presentation in the media as opposed to their quotidian lives,

what is needed now is to perceive the Bushmen, and all other peoples of the world engaged in all types of self-expression, as formulating 'identity-in-culture', to quote McRobbie's (1992) concept. The notion of 'identity-in-culture' (McRobbie 1992; Gray 2003: 7) avoids binaries of text and lived experiences, media and reality, authenticity and the 'fake' (staged) in preference for what I could best describe as syncretic realities of all these perspectives. Once again the simulacra ascend to conceptual "truth" to explain simplistic bifurcations and binaries.

The conclusions I make here should be viewed strictly as such emanating from site-specific performative acts conducted at particular times, and my observations and reactions to them at the moment and in retrospect. These might not be repeatable because of the affective nature of visits since they are 'personal' experiences. However, certain general trends and observations of what constitute such cultural performances and the problems that befall them might be expected features in the immediate future.

I have presented cultural villages as sites of visual performances in which tourists are invited to participate at various levels of interaction with their hosts. Performance entails immediacy, involvement and intimacy as modes of understanding, what Dwight Conquergood (citing Edward Said 1978: 36) calls "the primordial meaning of knowledge as a mode of being together-with" (1998: 26). While performances can be 'textualised' and subjected to critical study, it is now accepted that performance and textuality are fluid, exchangeable, and assimilable terms with blurred edges and dissolved boundaries, hence closing the traditional ontological and epistemological space between text and performance (Conquergood 1998: 25; Pollock 1998). Performance has expanded the scope for the textual object in scholarship that has been largely text-based, but when performance's significance is elevated, binaries between text and performance dwindle. The text is no longer just a discursive object of citation, but has the potential of action, performativity and iterability (Pollock 1998: 40; Conquergood 1998). The need to challenge the traditional assumptions about texts and performances lead me to deliberately textualise performances and visual experiences at cultural village sites. For the same reason, I intentionally 'activated' and used performative writing to appreciate and understand texts traditionally perceived as 'inactive' such as still photographs and Vetkat and Riekie Kruiper's paintings. My presence as a researcher and writer was also theoretically assured and deliberate since reflexive ethnography "privileges the presence of the writer in the text" (Denzin and Lincoln 2002c: 1). I was part of the

enquiry, and I used my own experiences in several cultures to “reflexively bend back on self and look more deeply at self-other interactions” (Ellis and Brochner 2000: 740). My writing was not only a moral dialogue, but a constructed story-narrative meant to grapple with issues pertaining to public and private manifestations of ethnic identity/identities.

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UB40 Live in South Africa

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Music

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UB40 Live in South Africa

Appendices

Appendix 1: Zulu virgins and the Reed Dance – *Sunday Times* 24/8/08

2JDCP August 24 2008



COVER UP: Zulu maidens are unhappy at their monarch's call for them to keep their bottoms covered at this year's Reed Dance ceremony

Zulu virgins reject king's call to cover their butts

BONGANI MTHETHWA

ZULU maidens are hopping mad over Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call for them to cover their rears at this year's Reed Dance.

Some maidens have rejected the monarch's call, saying it has come too late, will cost too much and defeats the purpose of the traditional ceremony to showcase their virginity.

The reed dance, which normally attracts thousands of maidens from across the country, will be held at the Enyokeni Royal Palace in Nongoma in three weeks' time.

Phili Dlamini, 22, from Pietermaritzburg, who has been attending the reed dance over the past eight years, said: "Firstly, the traditional gear that we wear at the reed dance is very expensive and, secondly, the king has made his call now — yet the ceremony is only three weeks away."

"Even if we want to do that, how many of us are going to afford that within such a very short space of time. I am totally against it."

Nomfundo Dlamini, 22, who is also from Pietermaritzburg, and will be celebrating her purity at the reed dance for the sixth year, agreed. "We are totally against this because when we cover up our bodies, then we're compromising our pride derived from being pure virgins," she said.

Last year the monarch banned female visitors from wearing pants to the traditional ceremony, saying the modern attire clashed with traditional Zulu culture.

"Traditionally, there's something which is used to cover up their butts called *umutsha*, and if they don't have that, I kindly suggest that they buy sarongs to cover up their exposed waistline," said the king this week.

"This year I don't want any maidens coming to the reed dance ceremony without their bums covered."

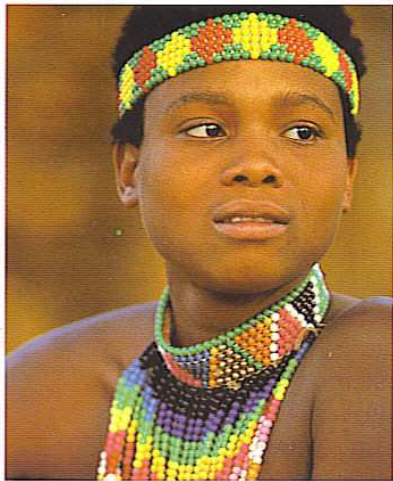
King Goodwill also said he understood maidens wanted to show off their bodies, as a sign of being tested as virgins, but added that the ceremony was not about looking at maidens' bottoms.

"There are times whereby maidens have to sing and dance and we end up seeing body parts we're not supposed to see," he said.

Princess Thembi Zulu, co-ordinator of the KwaZulu-Natal maiden cultural movement, defended the king's call.

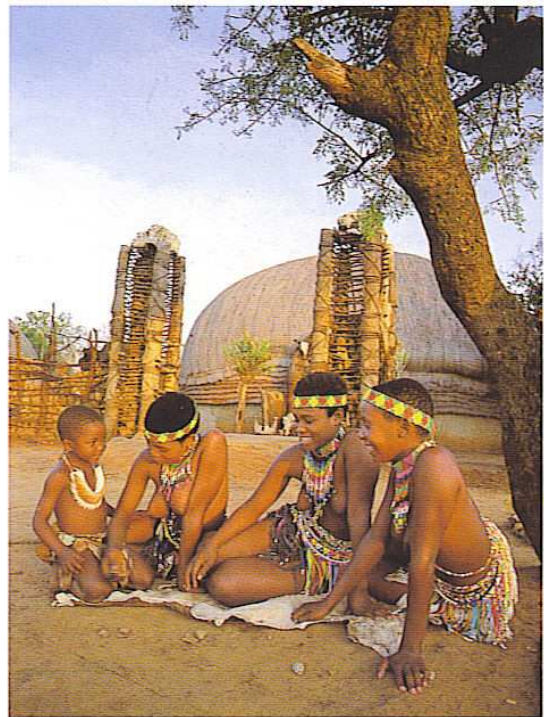
"It's not acceptable for maidens to expose their buttocks," she said, adding that even if the maidens couldn't afford to buy sarongs or *umutsha*, they should attempt not to expose their buttocks.

Appendix 2a: Extract from Shakaland brochure (1)



The village has a restaurant with a spectacular view of the surrounding hills, modern conference facilities as well as a cocktail party area which can accommodate approximately 80 people.

Relax next to the swimming pool overlooking the distant Entembeni hills.



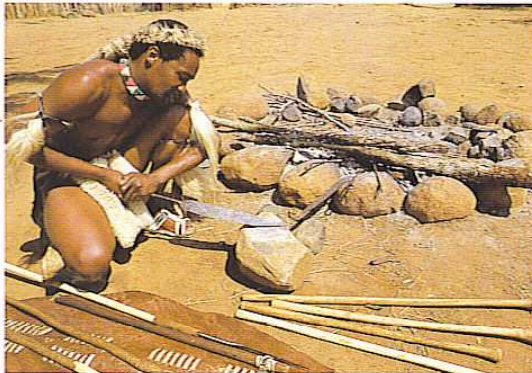
Shakaland's famous Zulu dancers celebrate their skills with a wonderful display of historic dances from all over the Kwa-Zulu Natal region.

Shakaland is more than just a tourist attraction – it is an enriching experience affording you a better understanding of the Zulu nation, its people and their intriguing customs.

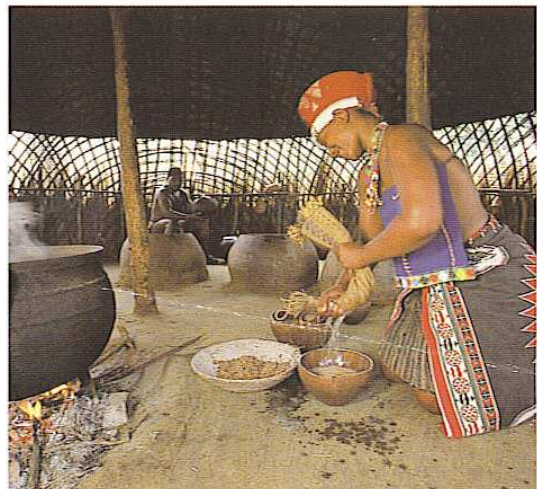
Appendix 2b: Extract from Shakaland brochure (2)

A warm welcome awaits you at Shakaland. On your arrival, you are met by Zulu dancers in full regalia, who escort you to your room, a thatched beehive-shaped hut, with all modern conveniences and bathroom en-suite.

Take a step back into the history of the Zulu people at the Great Kraal of King Shaka and experience the mystery and magic that is Africa.



Shakaland is beautifully set amongst mountains, rivers and a peaceful lake, a mere 160km north of Durban, offering a host of fascinating experiences that transport you into a different age: observe captivating Zulu ceremonies like courtship and beer drinking.



Appendix 2c: Extract from Simunye brochure (1)

Journey with us in the footsteps of the early pioneers into Zululand. Visit fascinating old ruins that speak to us from the past. Be part of the vibrant culture that lives unto this day.

Your hosts, the Biyela clan, are directly related to the Royal House of Zulu. Named "The Protectors", they played a key role in the rise of the Zulu kingdom.

As their GUESTS you enjoy the protection of warriors of the Royal House. This has been decreed by the clan's Patriarch Prince, Gilenya Biyela, whose forebear, Mkhosana, led the Zulu regiment that defeated the British at Isandlwana.

IN THE WORDS OF THE PRINCE:

"If you have come to Simunye, you have come to honour our ways and I have given my blessing to this venture. Go where you please in our territory and everywhere you will be welcome. Because, as the name Simunye says, we are indeed ONE".



Ukhozi oluZulayo oluBambayo

These are the words of an old Zulu proverb meaning "Only the wandering eagle catches fine prey."

Protea Hotel Simunye Zulu Lodge is fine prey indeed. Located far from the everyday world your journey to the lodge is on horseback, by donkey cart, ox cart, (or safari vehicle on request).



Warriors guide you past towering cliffs and winding rivers into the breathtaking Mfulé Valley where you will find Simunye nestling in the Zulu Heartland.

NATURAL BEAUTY:

We have imitated the swallows and eagles and built the conference centre into the cliff itself, nature has done the rest by creating an ambience which is both primal and timeless.



Part of the magic of Protea Hotel Simunye is that everything was created entirely by Zulus using natural materials from the valley. Your accommodation is either a Royal suite in the village, or a stone and thatch lodge nestled in a cliff across the Mfulé River.

Appendix 2d: Extract from Simunye brochure (2)



Simunye is an outstanding Zulu cultural destination, authentic, traditionally hospitable and comfortable. I believe it is a way we should live in Africa.

*Paul Hayes D.M.S.
Vice Chairman
Wilderness Foundation*

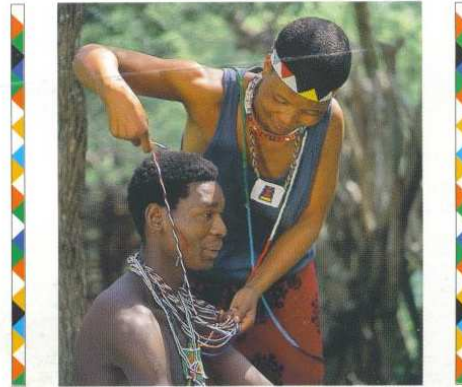
Get to know a true Sangoma and the use of natural remedies, herbs and medicines.



After a short walk to visit the village of your Zulu hosts, a hearty brunch is served next to the river.



The second day takes you deeper into the mysteries of Zulu courtship, love and marriage. The engagement beads or Ucu being put around this young man's neck tells a wonderful story. Learn about the messages hidden in the beadwork.



The unmarried girl wears money on her head ... this is ceremonial money and takes on a new meaning. She also carries a spear. What is the symbolism of a bride carrying a spear, a lantern and wearing leopard skin? Why the veil?



Be at one with us and you will start to understand us. Come to our ceremonies with us otherwise visit local schools and villages at your leisure. You will not want to leave.

Appendix 3: "Zulu Sangoma and assistant" by Gerald Hoberman (postcard)



SOUTH AFRICA, KWAZULU NATAL
Sangoma & assistant
GERALD HOBERMAN

ERFENIS DAG

Erfenis dag was op 24 September by die !XunKhwesa skool gehou.

Klomp mense het kom kyk en somer ook deelgeneem. Dansgroepe, insluitend die 'Pantsies' van Kimberley, het die dag bygewoon.

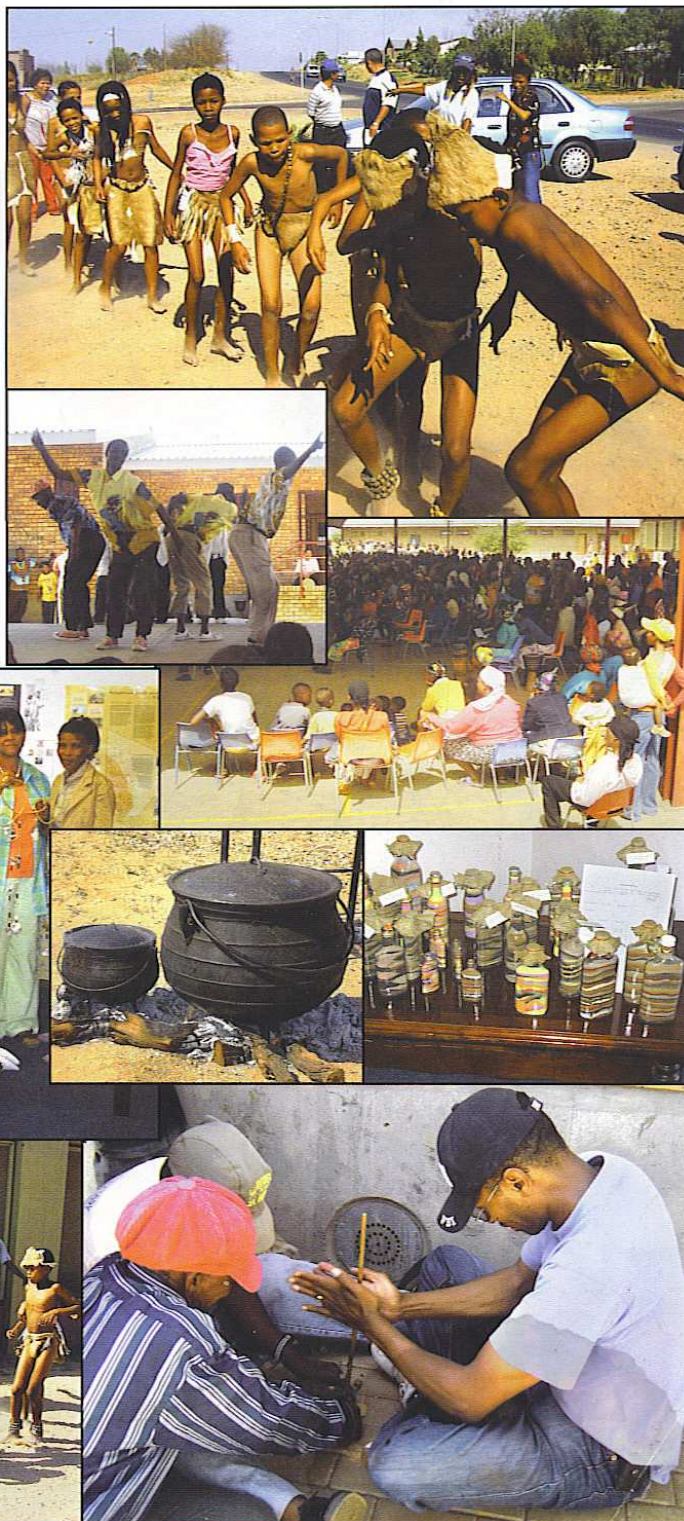
Die mense het tradisionele speletjies gespeel, so wel as in tradisionele en moderne pyl en boog kompetisies geskiet.

Tamboerslaan was ook gedoen deur die Kimberley-Platfontein groepie. Die doel van die dag was die herdenking van die San gemeenskap se kultuur en tradisies.

In Upington is op dieselfde dag 'n Erfenis Dag program deur Petrus Kassie hanteer.

Die dag het afgeskop met 'n tradisionele dans item deur 'n plaaslike dansgroep.

Verskillende taalsprekers was teenwoordig op die dag en 'n belangrike gebeurtenis was die bekendstelling van 'n taal CD, sowel as die oorhandiging daarvan aan die verskillende teenwoordige skole. Daar was ook 'n vertoning van die video waartydens die mense getrek het vanaf Swartkop na die Kalahari. Ander videos is ook gewys.



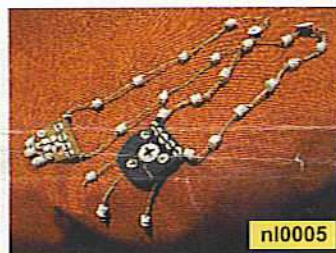
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dolls & puppets



buttons

SISEN, is the ancient N/n'u language spoken in this region for thousands of years, means "WE WORK"

No harm was done to the environment and no animals are killed for the purpose of craft making.

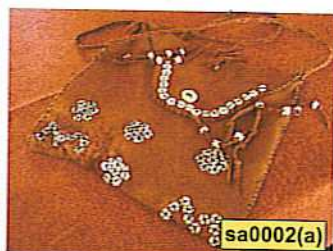
KHOMANI SISEN is a craft concern owned by the San people of the Southern Kalahari Desert in South Africa.

Sisen was started as a project in October 2000 to create income generating opportunities when many San people moved back to their ancestral lands. This was brought about by a successful land claim in 1999.

Sisen has since been registered as a business. Sisen offers the welcome opportunity to many - not only to work for an income - but to practice and develop the ancient tradition of craft making, using mostly the same materials as the San ancestors.

Although not identical to those made by their grandparents, the contemporary craft are inspired by the tradition.

AND ALSO...



handbags



handy bags

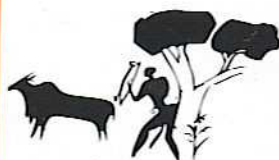


OTHER PRODUCTS INCLUDE:

- * purses and cellphone pouches
- * bead curtains
- * desert sandals and many others

mobiles

*With many thanks to the
Northern Cape Arts and Culture
Council and Broederlijk Delen,
Belgium, for their support.*



NATURAL MATERIALS

The desert offers very useful materials such as twigs, pods and seeds, bone, horn and porcupine quills to be used in craft making.

Ostriches in the area see to ostrich egg shells that are used in most of the craft.

about our craft...

- * all beads excepts the glass ones, are hand made.
- * all necklaces and bangles are strung onto strong durable leather thongs, especially cut for the purpose.
- * designs, often telling a story or conveying a message, are embroidered onto many products.



HUIS
genoot

Die Kalahari
gaan nooit weer
dieselfde wees nie...

20-23 September 2006 - Upington

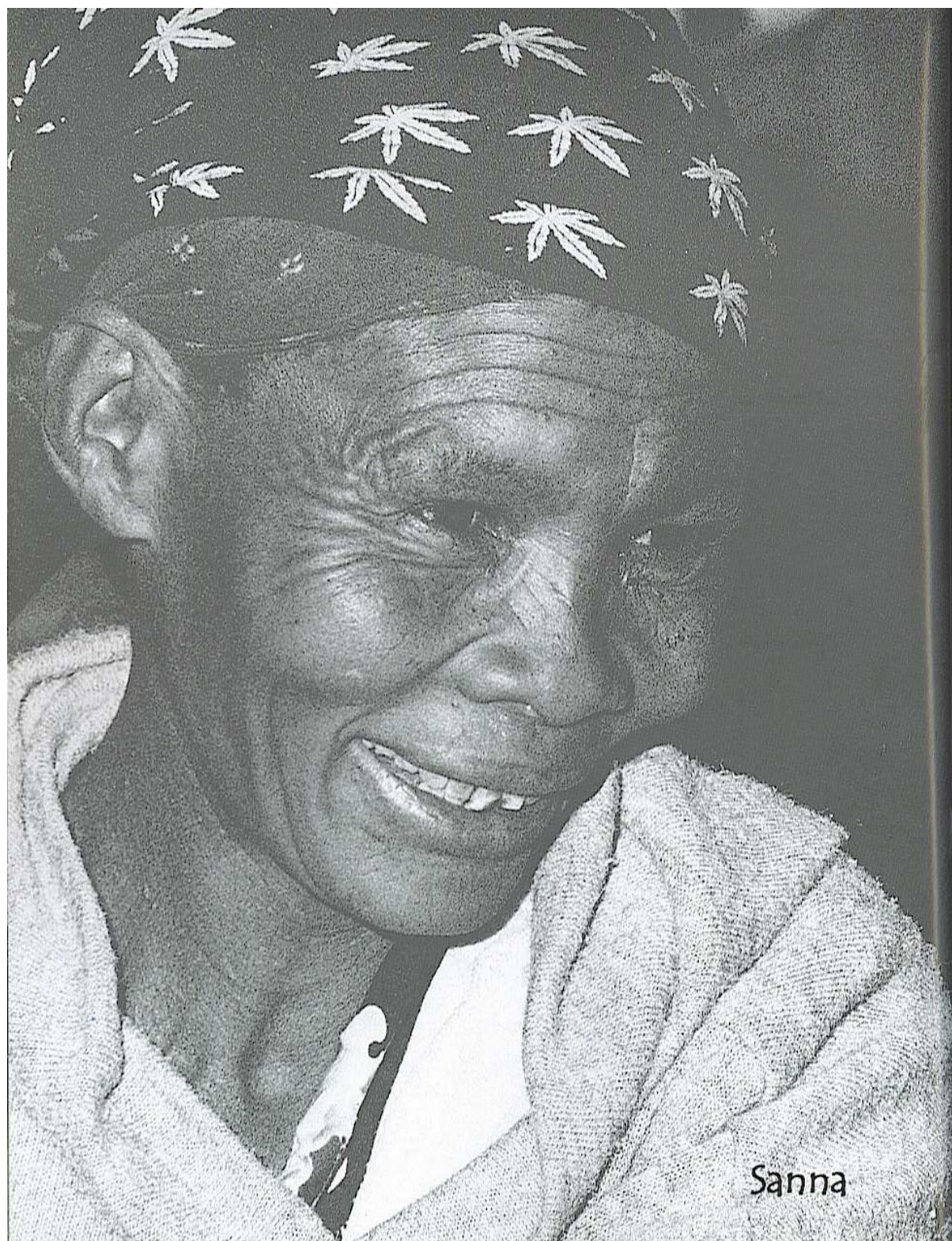
**Kom vier ons 90ste verjaarsdag
saam met ons by die Danie Kuys Stadion
op Woensdag, 20 September!**

Dis weer tyd vir die Kalahari
Kuiersfees en met soveel top
kunstenaars gaan daar dié jaar
sommers behoorlik gekuier word.
Soos altyd is Huisgenoot weer 'n
trotse borg van die feestelike
geleentheid.
Hoe dan nou anders?

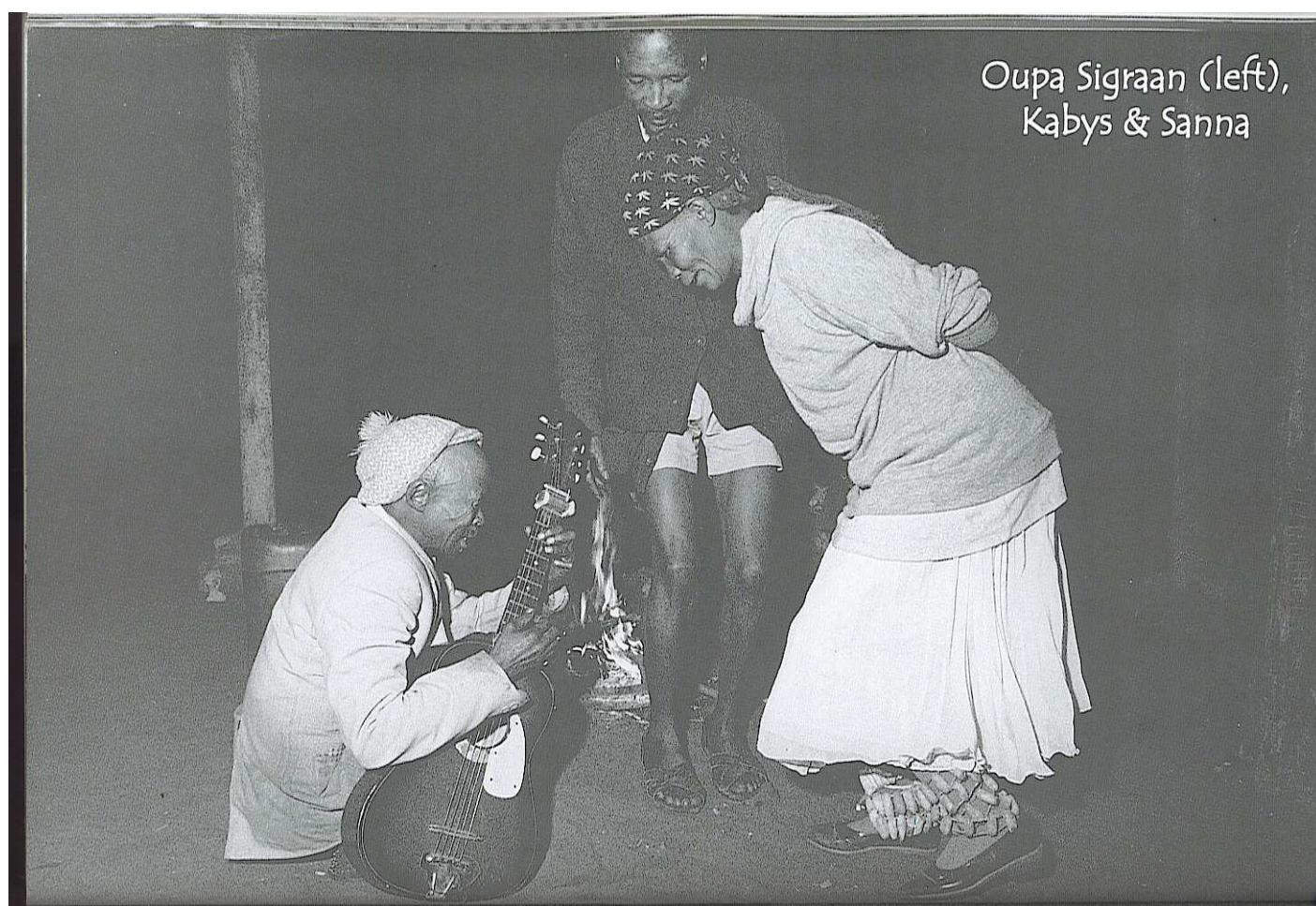
Kalahari Kuiersfees
2006

06

Appendix 7: Sanna Kruiper wife of Khomani traditional leader Dawid Kruiper

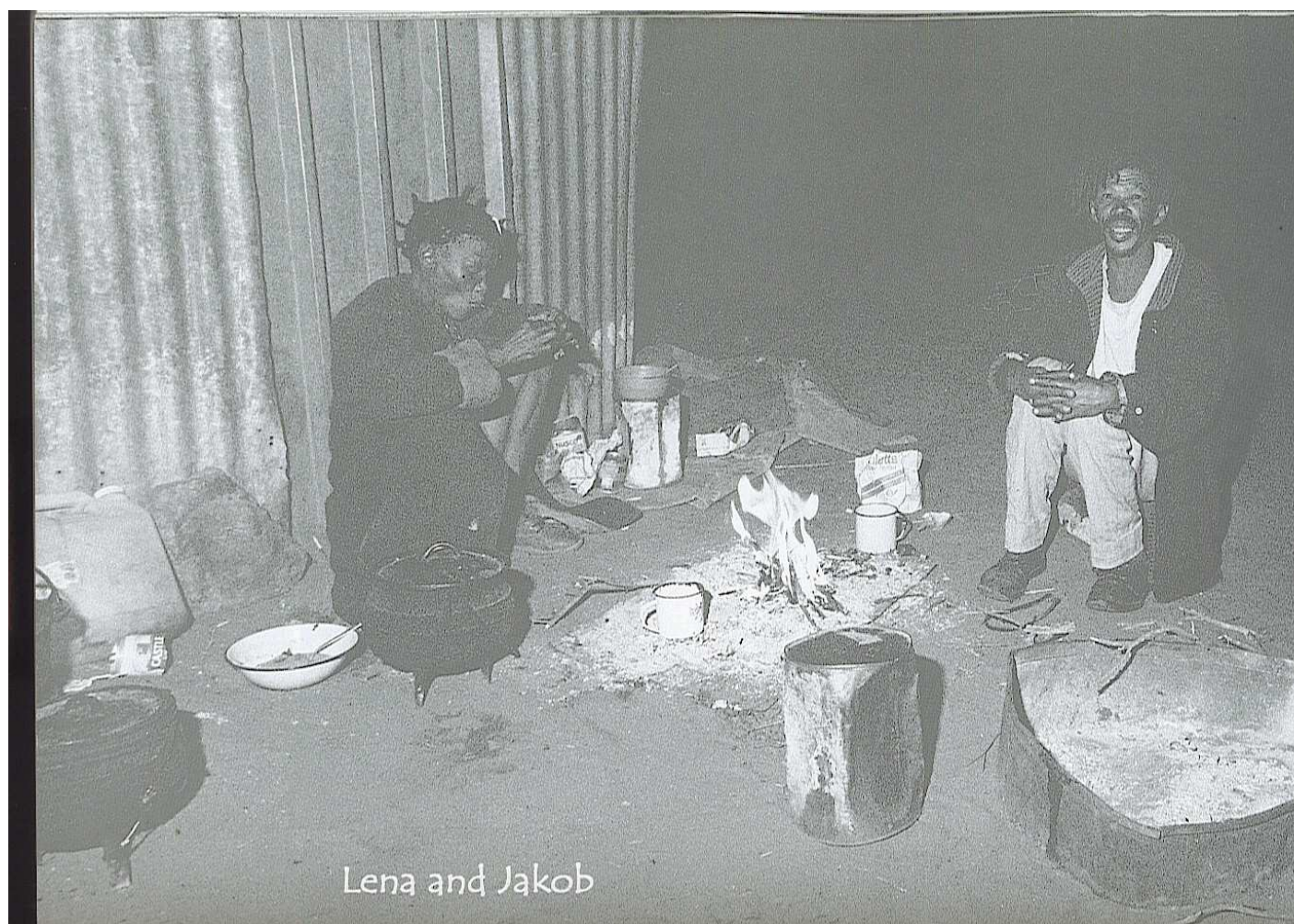


Appendix 8: Revelling time – Sanna Kruiper dancing

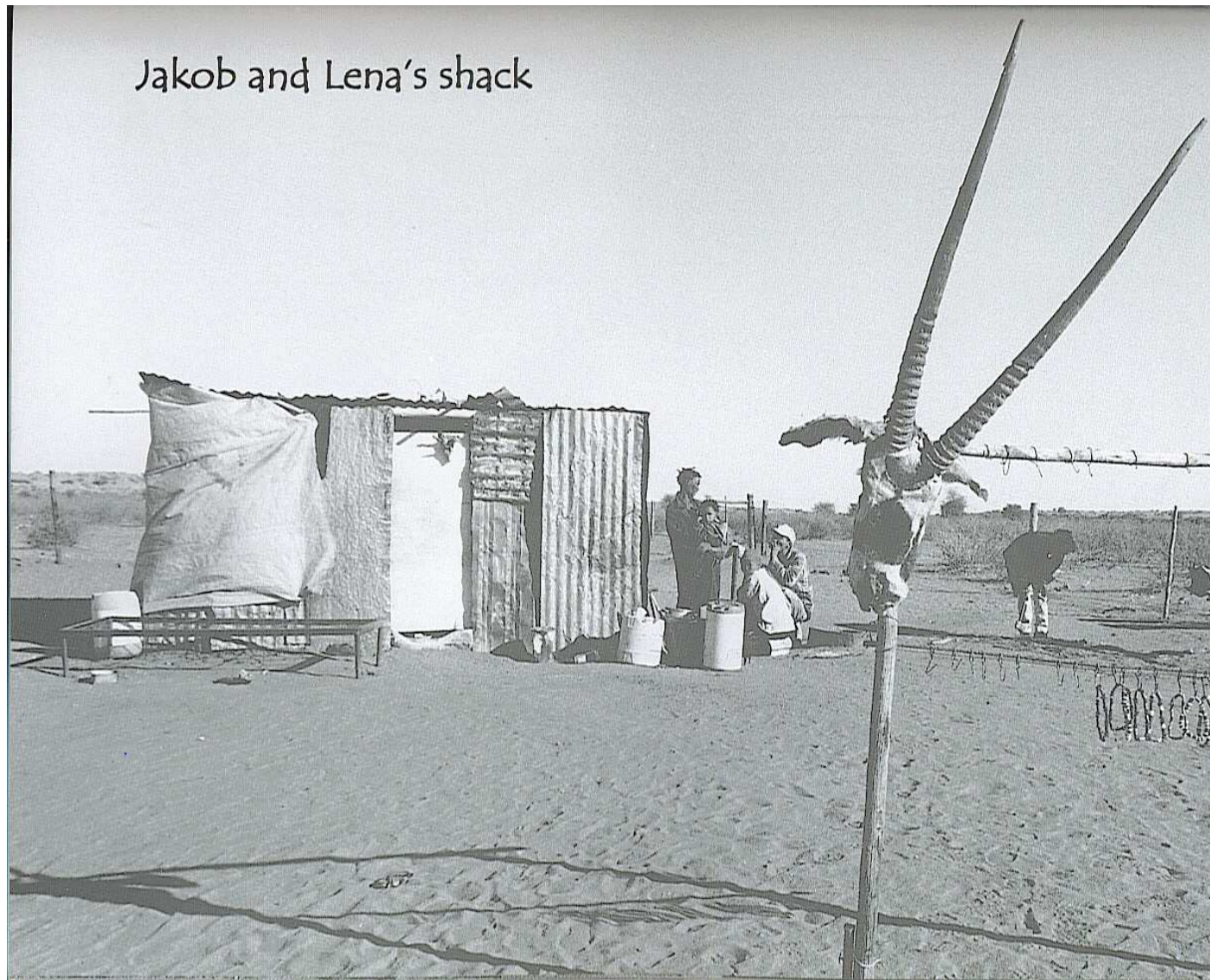


Oupa Sigran (left),
Kabys & Sanna

Appendix 9: Lena and Jakob



Appendix 10: Jacob and Lena's shack

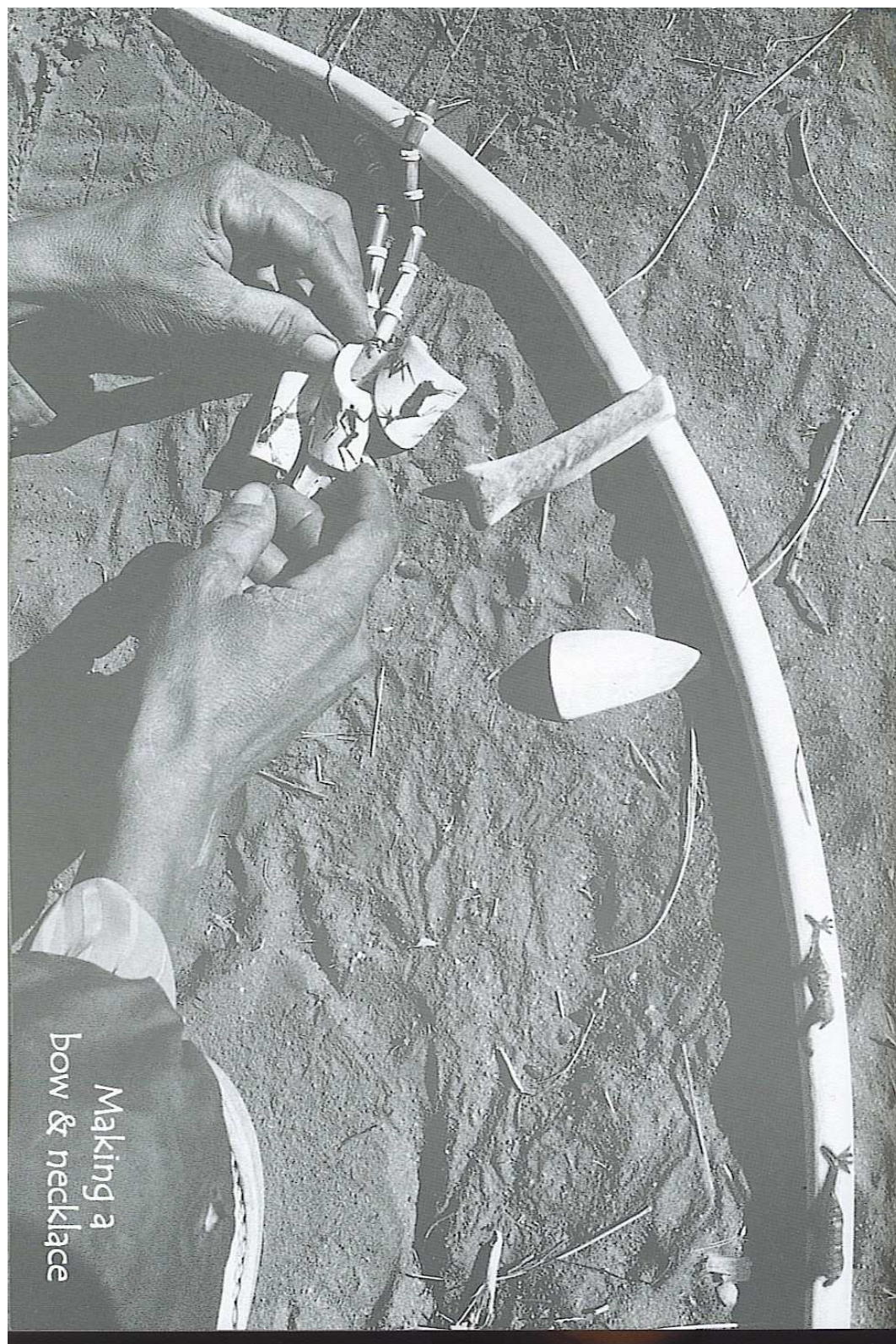


Appendix 11: Shacks at Welkom

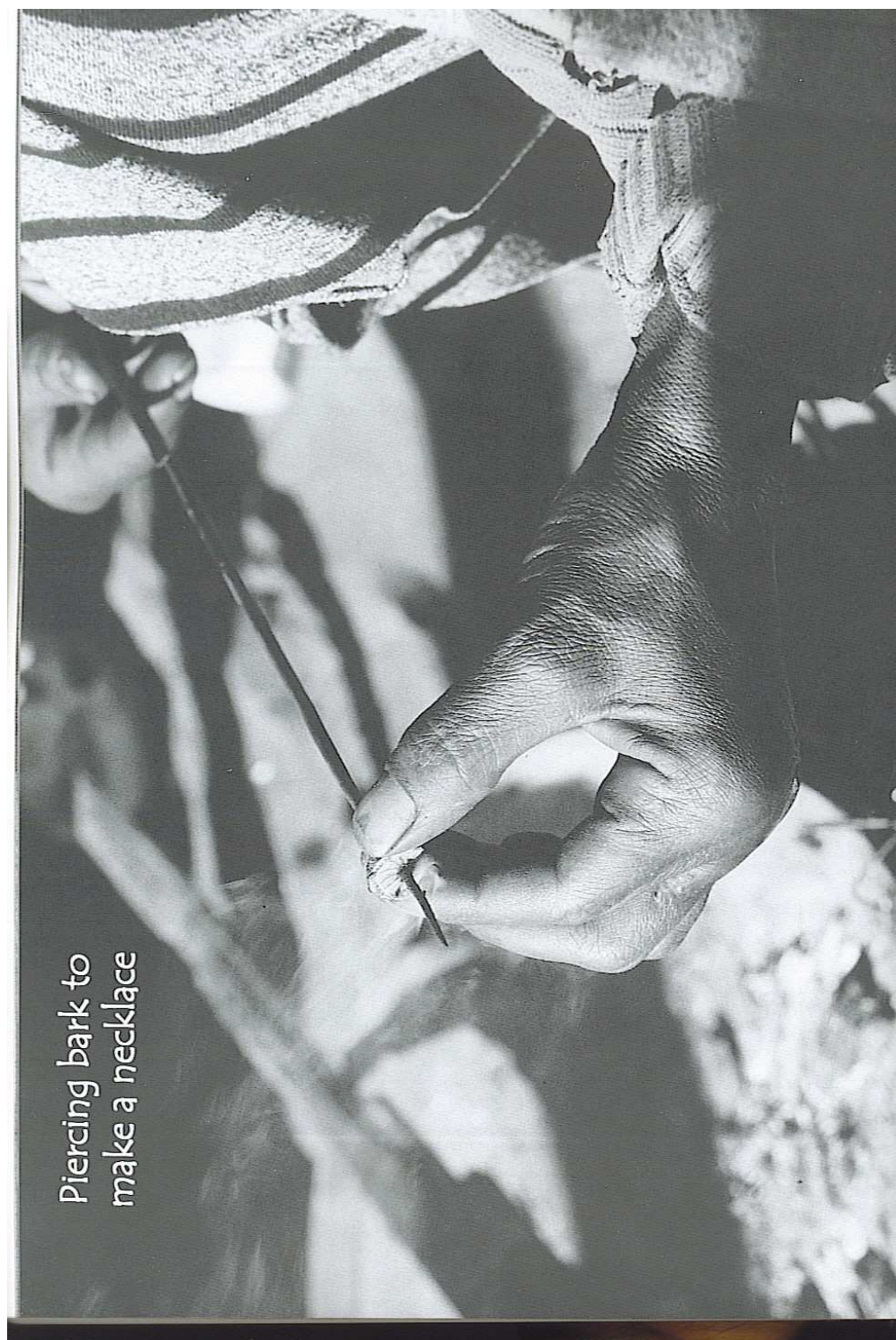


Shacks at Welkom

Appendix 12: Making a bow & necklace



Appendix 13: Piercing bark to make a necklace

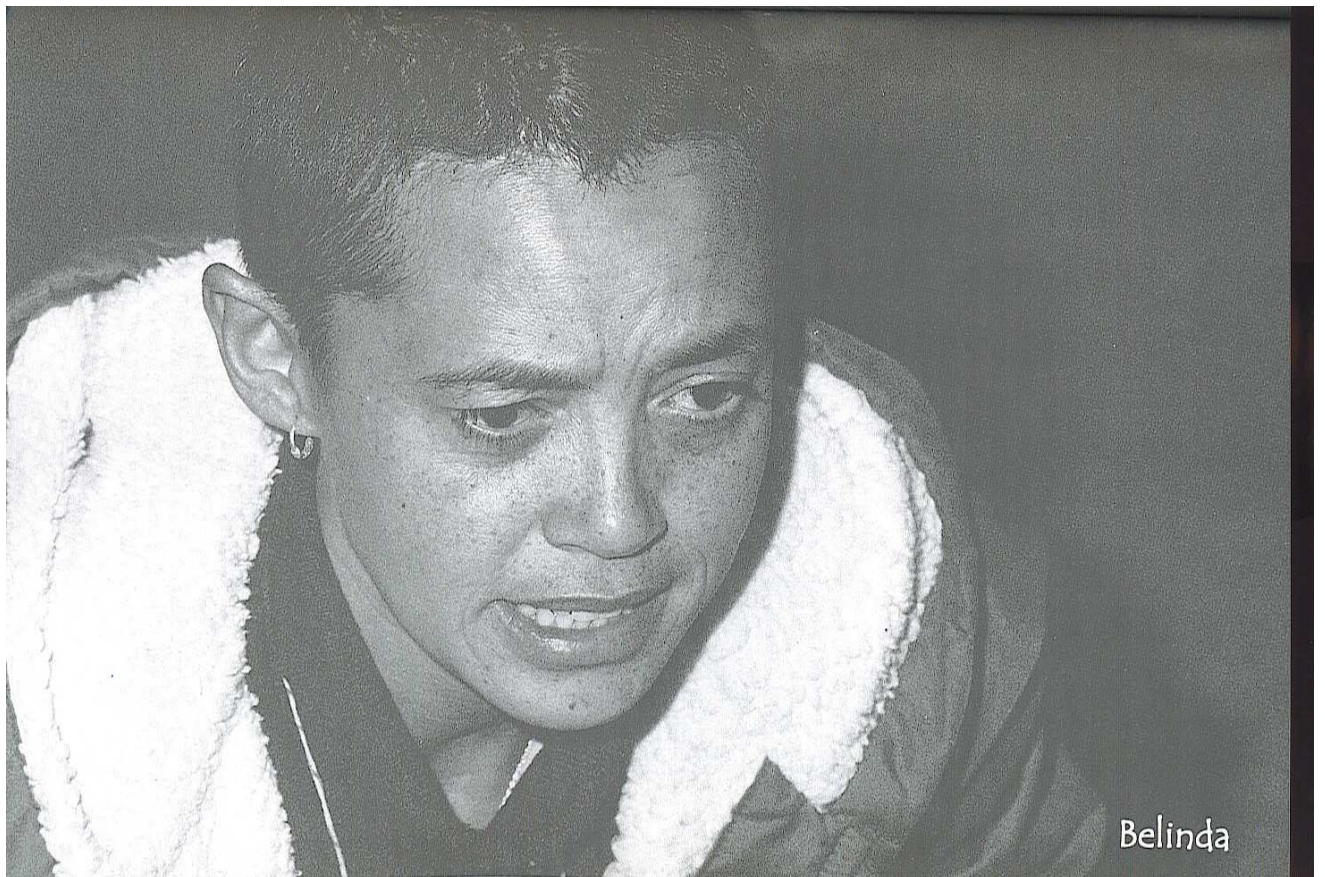


Appendix 14: “San family” by Gerald Hoberman (postcard)



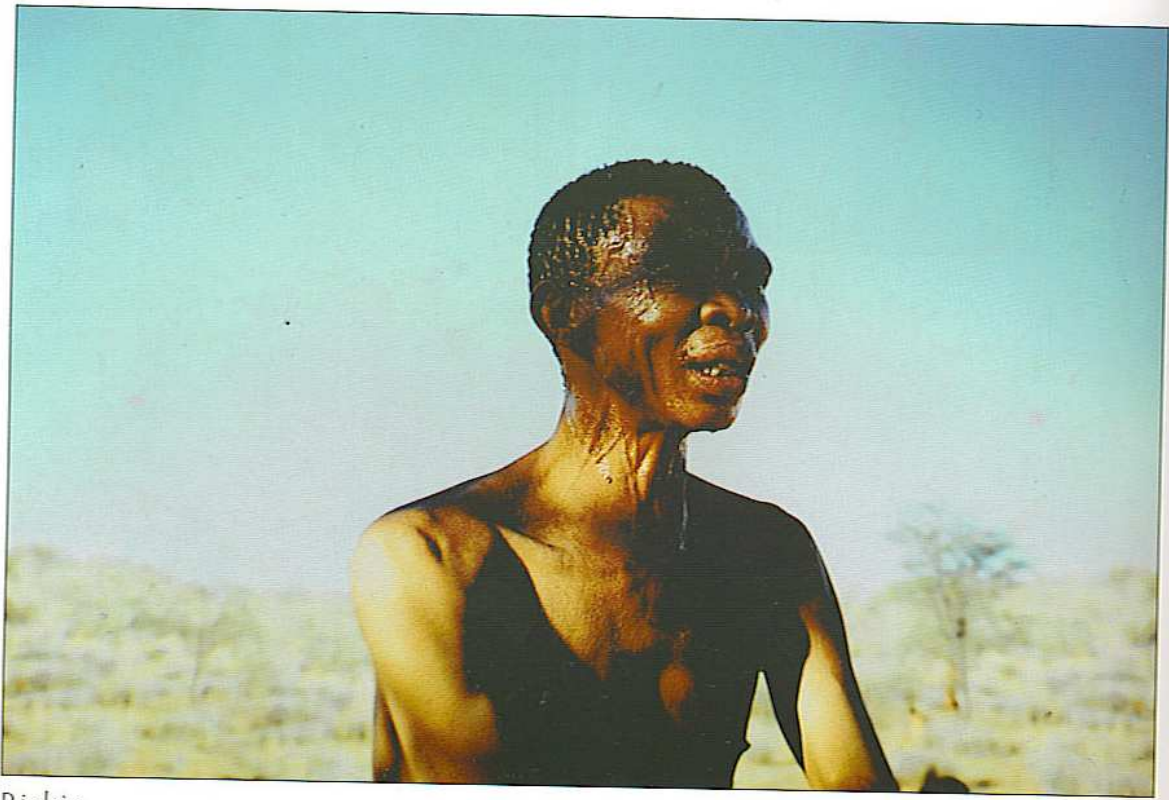
SOUTHERN AFRICA
San family
GERALD HOBERMAN

Appendix 15: Organic intellectual Belinda Kruiper



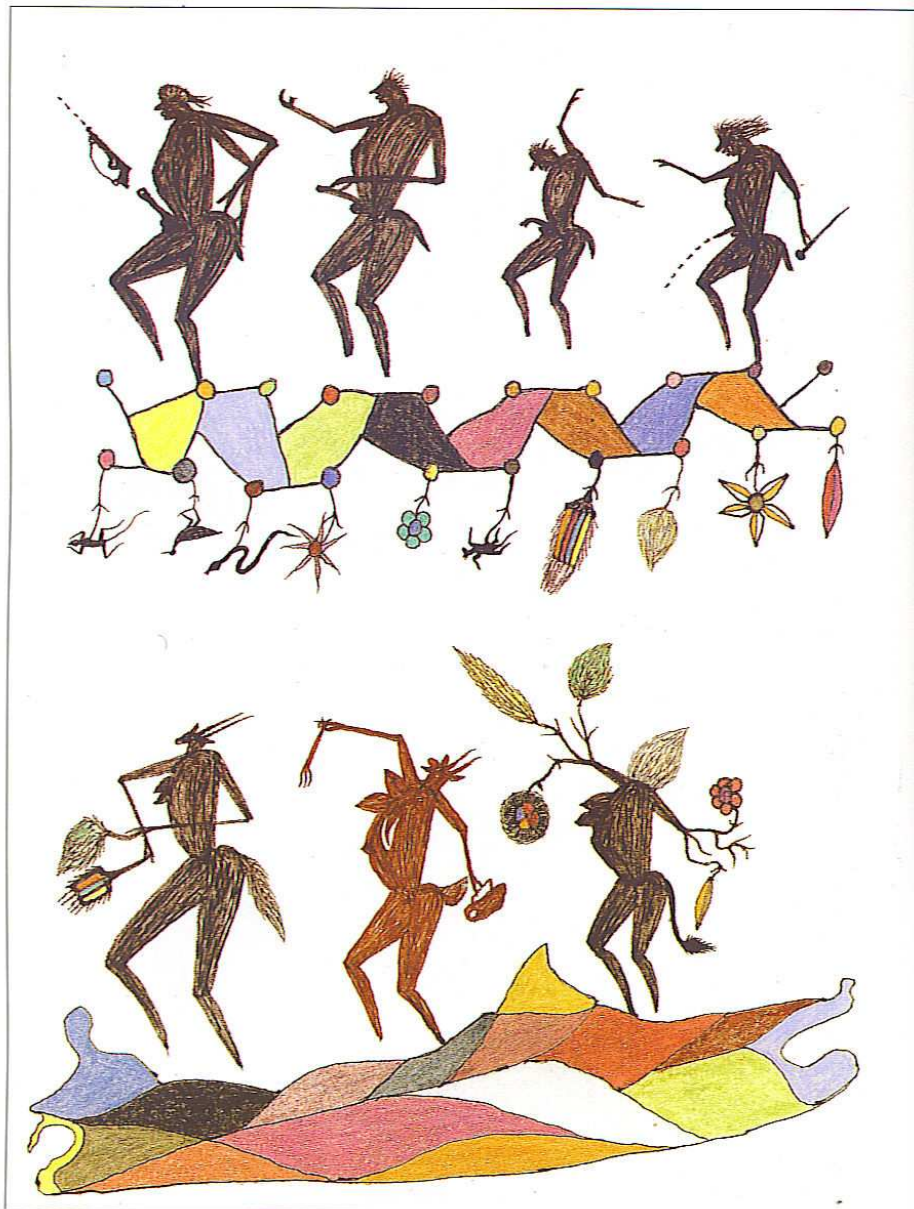
Belinda

Appendix 16: The intense Riekie Kruiper

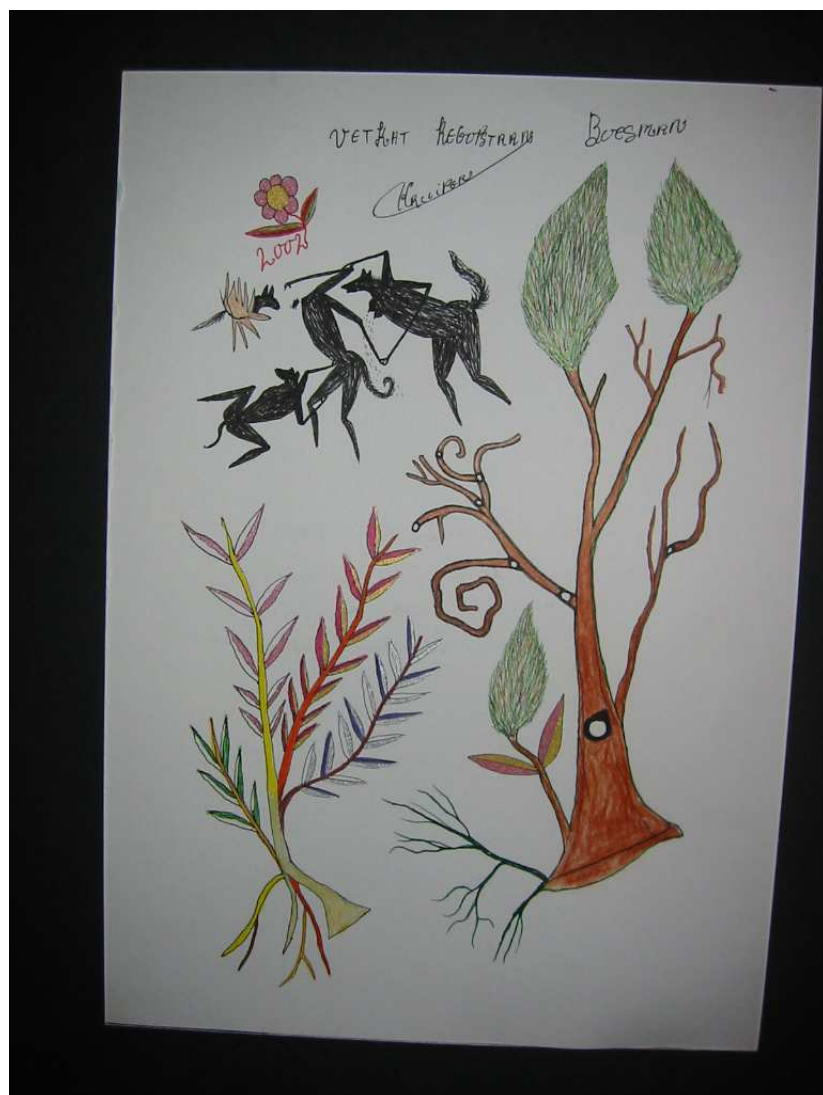


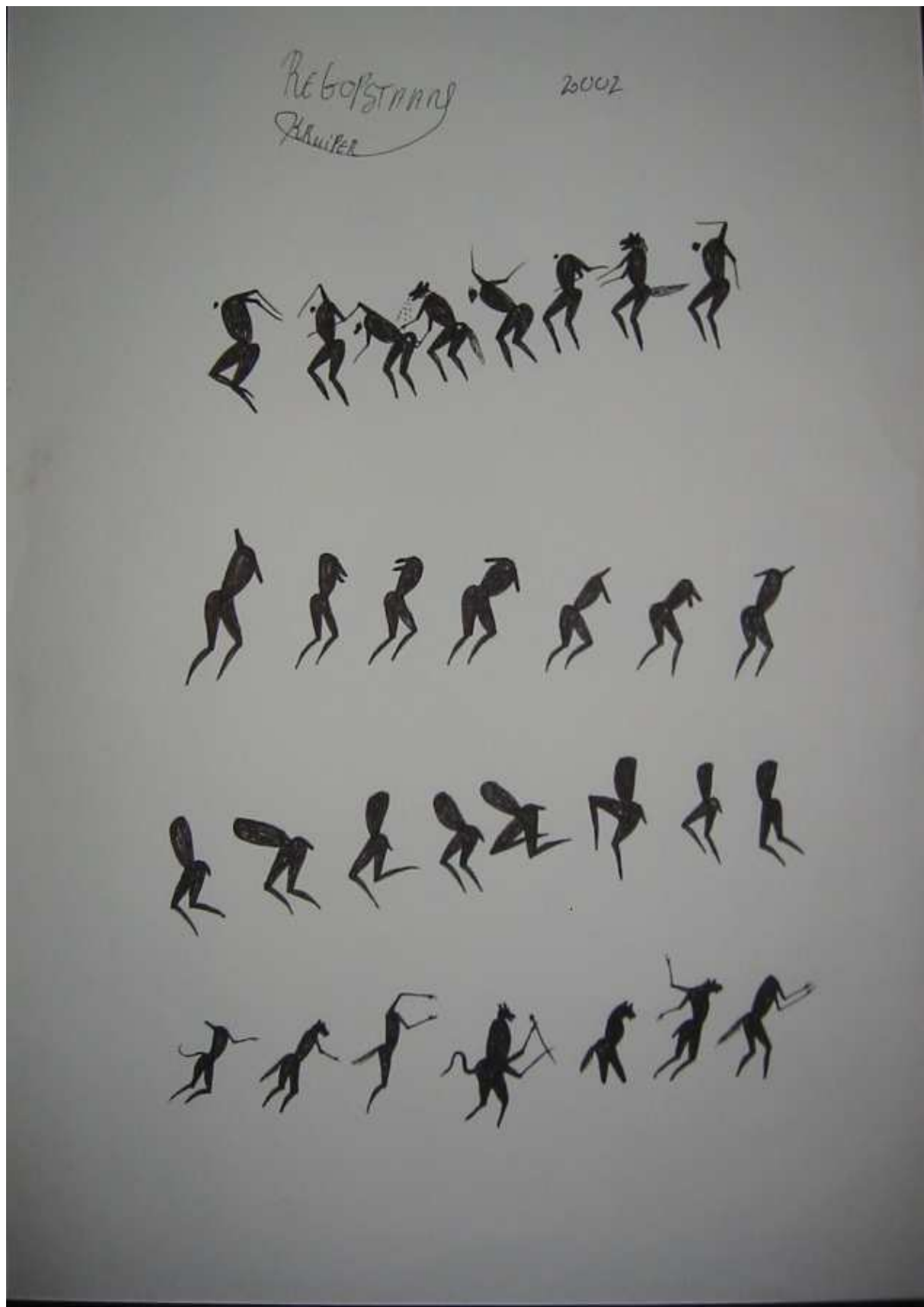
Riekie.





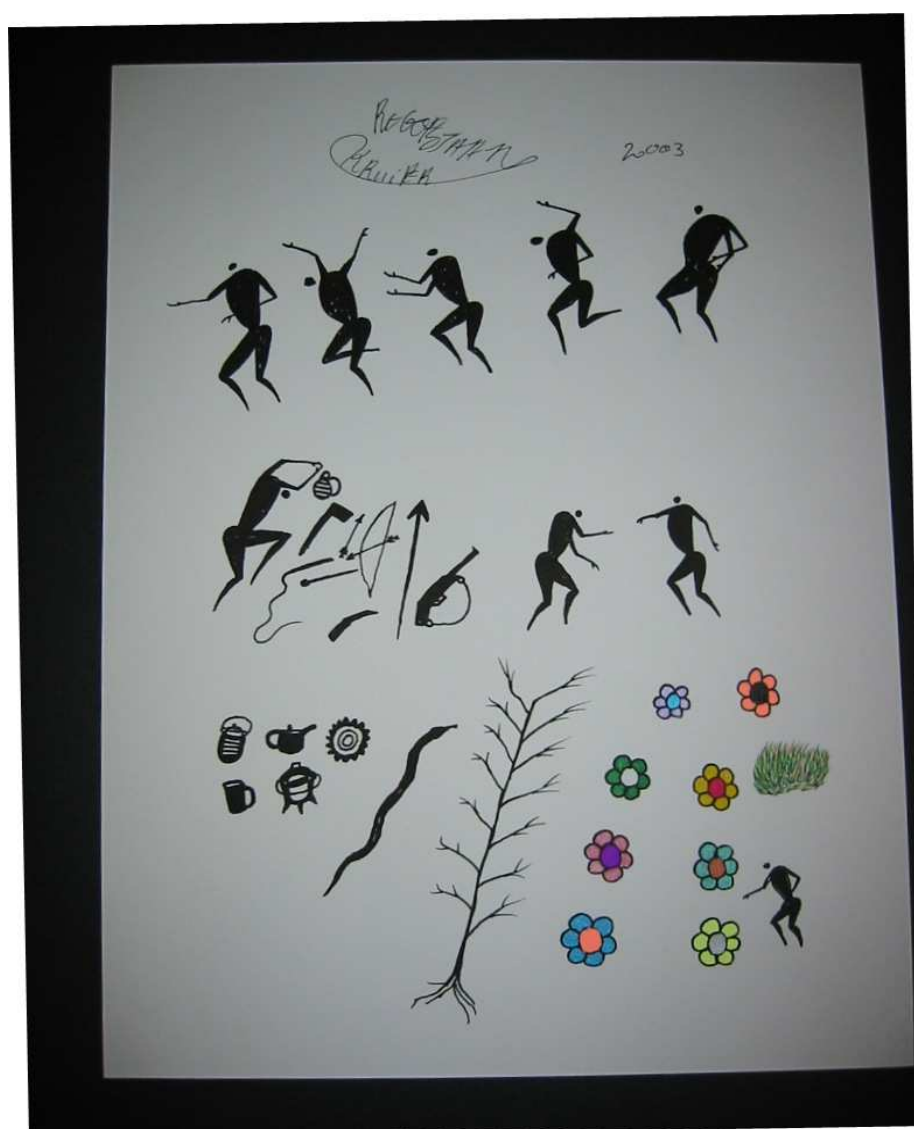
Appendix 19





Appendix 21

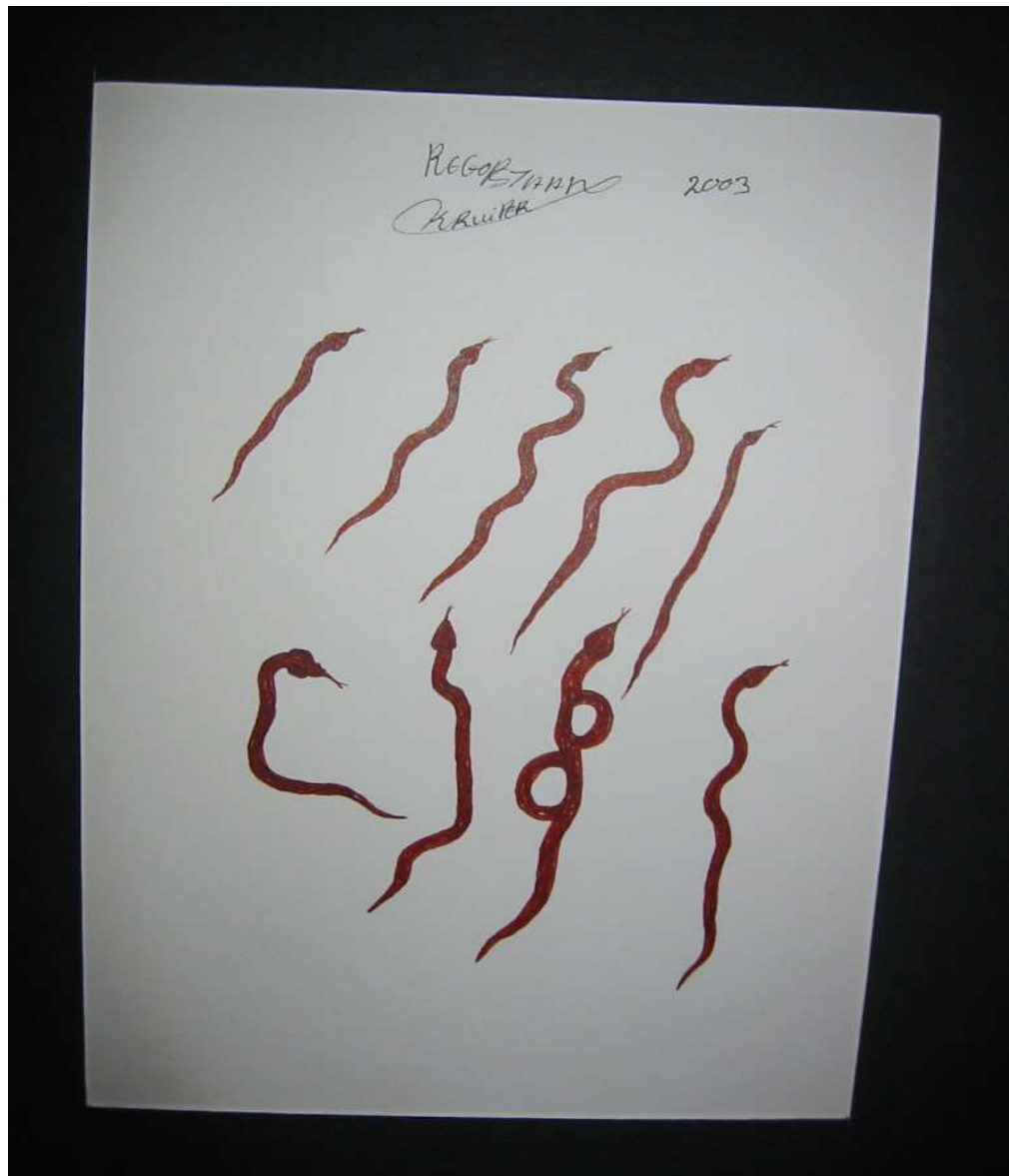


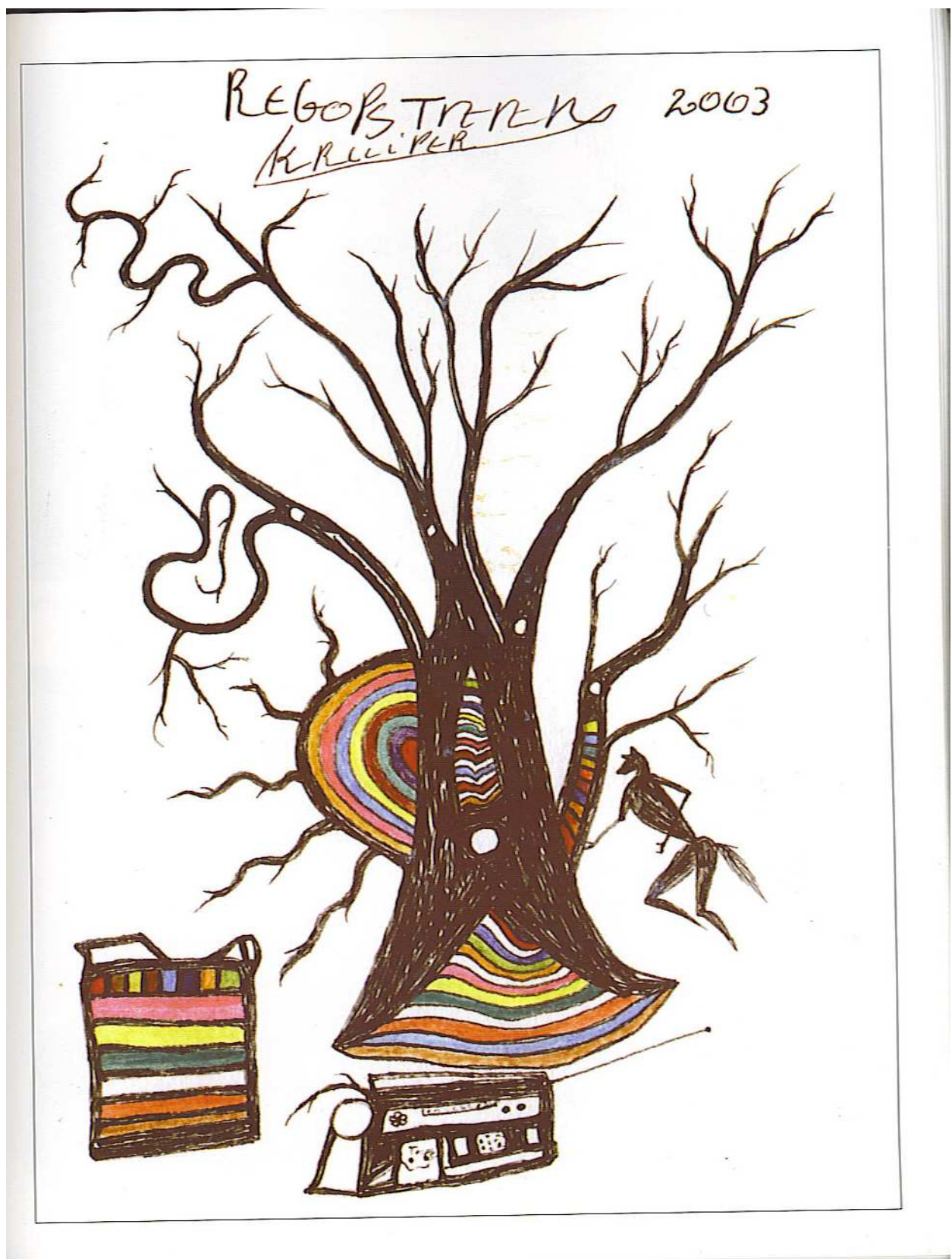


Appendix 23



Appendix 24



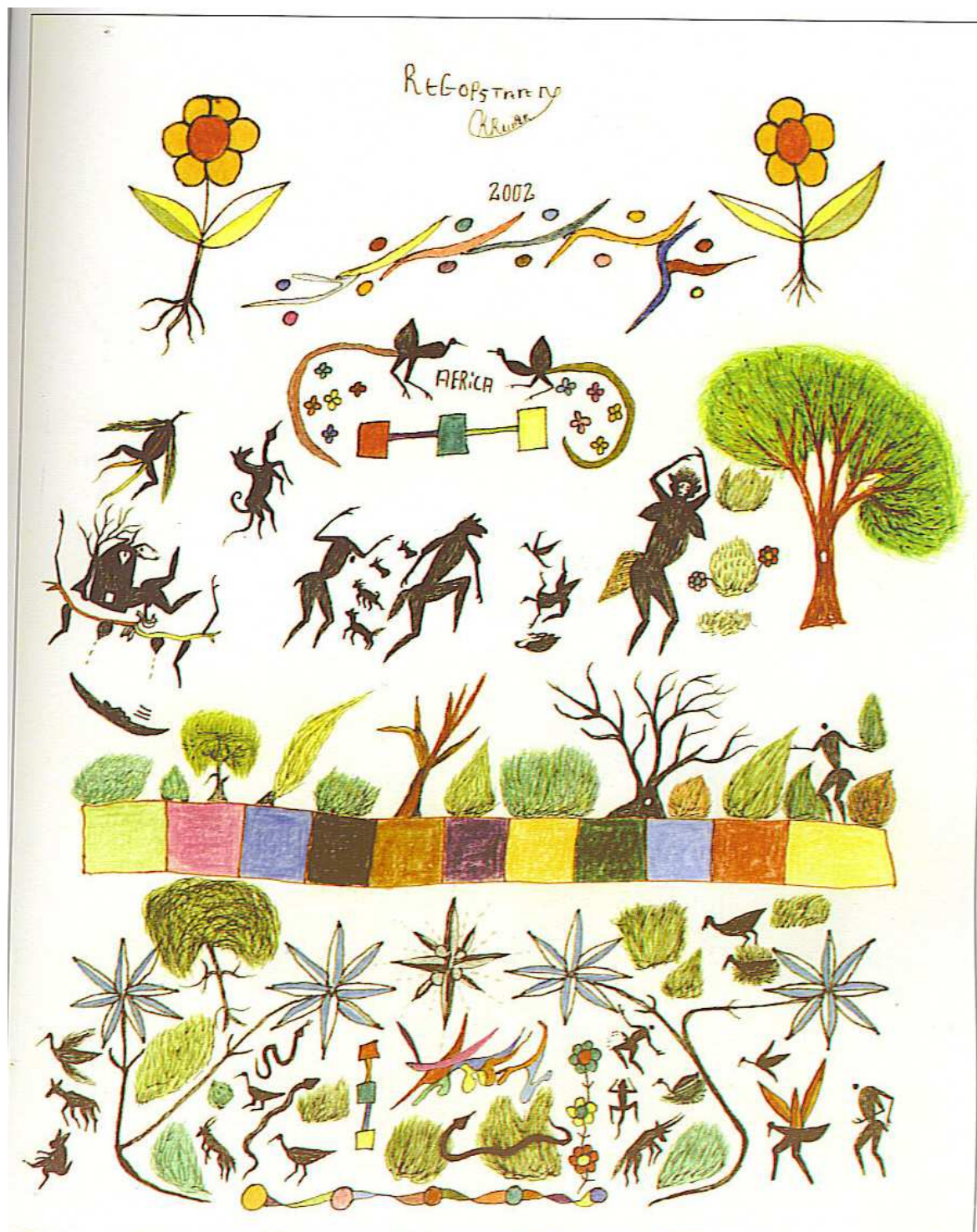


Appendix 26: “Oupa’s tree” (the Shepherd tree at Blinkwater)



The Shepherd Tree at Blinkwater that Oupa Regop liked to sit under.

Appendix 27: "Africa"



Appendix 28: "Ja! Of Nee!"



Appendix 29: "God is good"

